EXCLUSIVE: HOW SADDAM IS PLAYING HIDE-AND-SEEK

Newsweek®

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SPECIAL REPORT

Not Again

SPACE SHUTTLE COLUMBIA CREW MEMBERS, FROM LEFT: DAVID BROWN, RICK HUSBAND, LAUREL CLARK, KALPANA CHAWLA, MICHAEL ANDERSON, WILLIAM McCOOL AND ILAN RAMON

[redacted]

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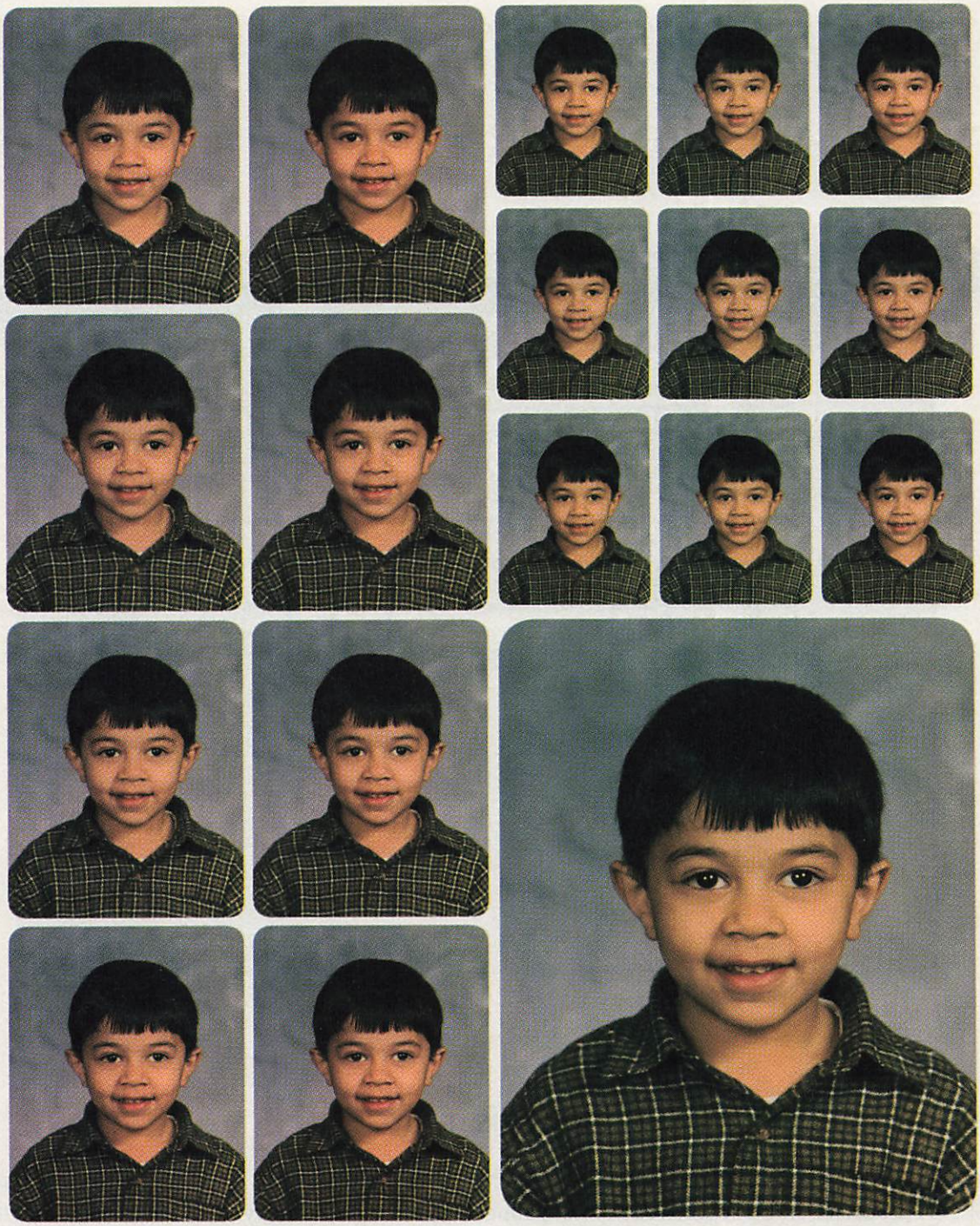

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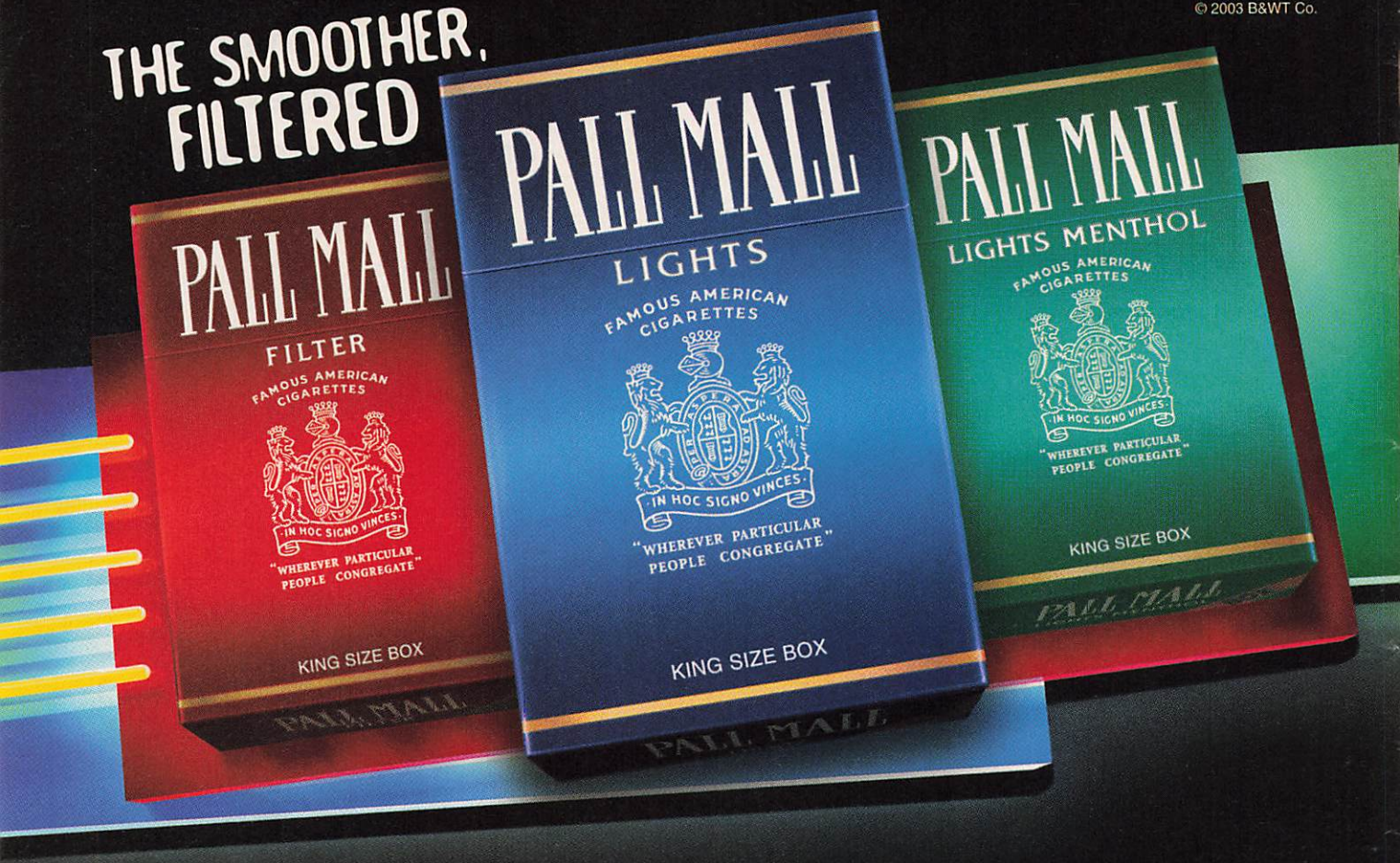

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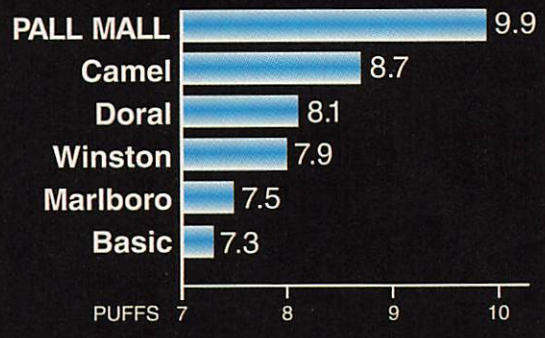

Avg. Puffs Per Cigarette
Source: B&W Analytical Test Results (FTC Method)
Comparison of PALL MALL, Marlboro, Winston, Camel, Doral and Basic King Size Filter Box

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Top of the Week

Newsweek

Cover Story

The weather was clear, the mission nearly done. Then **the space shuttle Columbia exploded,** killing seven astronauts. A Special Report on what went wrong—and **a look at the lives of the men and women** who took the ultimate risk. Plus: John Glenn on what space travel is really like. **Page 22**

NASA—GETTY IMAGES

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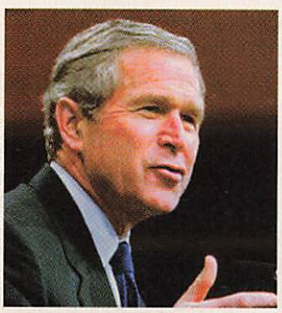

PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

SADDAM'S SECRETS: Bush and Powell press the case

COVER: Robert McCullough—Dallas Morning News. Inset photo: NASA—AP—Corbis.

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LMDC—AP

OUT OF THE ASHES: Redesigning the WTC site

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Top of the Week

The Fires This Time

NEWSWEEK: Your company helped put out more than 100 oil-well fires set by Iraqi troops after the Persian Gulf War. Would Saddam Hussein's troops set their wells on fire if the U.S. attacks?
RED ADAIR: Nobody knows what Saddam's going to do. Iraq has two tremendous oil-fields, one in the north and one in the south. Their natural-gas reserves are way up in the trillions. Something like that [setting fires] could take in the whole country.
How would fighting oil fires in Iraq be different than it was in Kuwait in 1991?
It's not like Kuwait over there.

These are big fields ... Kuwait was easy compared to what would happen over in Iraq. I just hope it doesn't happen.
Two problems you faced early on in Kuwait were lack of equipment and lack of water. Are we better equipped this time around?
I don't think so. You've got to get the equipment and the pumps to kill the wells ... It'd take about a month just to get it all over there.
Would you go to Iraq if asked?
I'd have to convince my wife to let me go first. She says no way—that I've done enough of that in my lifetime.

Go online for Jennifer Barrett's complete interview

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THE EDITOR'S DESK

IT WAS 17 YEARS AGO, ALMOST TO THE calendar date, but it still feels like only yesterday. That time we were all watching, and the shock was of disbelief. How could the shuttle Challenger, the shining proof of how effortless space travel had become, have exploded before our eyes? And how could Christa McAuliffe, the schoolteacher-astronaut we had come to imagine as a friend and neighbor, suddenly be dead along with her six crewmates? This time, almost no one but NASA pros and Southwestern skygazers were watching, and the shock was of sad recognition. How could this happen again? And why now—after September 11, on the verge of war with Iraq, when our hearts are already so heavy with lives we've already lost and are at risk of losing?

At NEWSWEEK, we were still a half-a-day away from our Saturday-night "close," so we didn't hesitate to rip up the magazine. Within minutes of hearing that the shuttle Columbia had blown up during re-entry, Chief of Correspondents **Marcus Mabry** was deploying reporters from Texas to Wyoming. Photo Editors **Michelle Molloy** and **Simon Barnett** began contacting everyone from local newspapers to amateur photographers to gather the best images of Columbia's flight and its crew members. And before we had to ask, **Angelo Rivello, John Nallen, Jack Widener** and **Becky Cassidy** of our Manufacturing and Distribution department had wargamed how to give us later deadlines *and* print more issues.

The result is a 20-page cover package that, we hope, captures the emotional trauma of the Columbia disaster and helps sort out how it happened. **Evan Thomas** scrutinizes the theories about what went wrong, including the inevitable speculation that it involved terrorism. **Weston Kosova, Sam Seibert** and **Seth Mnookin** remember the U.S. astronauts who lost their lives, and **Joshua Hammer** profiles Ilan Ramon, the first Israeli to go into space. **Jerry Adler** analyzes the future of NASA, while former senator and Mercury astronaut **John Glenn** conjures up the stresses and fears that all astronauts confront and the courage and professionalism that will help the space program carry on.

Four days before dying, Columbia's commander, Rick Husband, paid the Challenger crew this tribute from space: "Their dedication ... was an inspiration to each of us and still motivates people around the world ... in service to others." No more fitting words can now be said of Husband and his fellow heroes.

–MARK WHITAKER

HIGHLIGHTS

This week, check out a new feature, **Turning Points in Technology,** where NEWSWEEK looks back on how it covered new tech trends in the past—and how they turned out. For our debut, we look back at our 1988 reporting on HDTV. Plus, cast your **Live Vote** on the Newsweek.MSNBC.com home page: has George W. Bush now done enough to convince the American public that a war against Iraq is justified?

COLUMNISTS & LIVE TALKS

The Week Ahead on the Web

Every day, look for **Michael Rogers**'s column and Weblog on technology and society, The Practical Futurist.

Join **Allan Sloan** for a Live Talk on the state of the economy Tuesday, Feb. 4, at noon, ET. Submit questions any time.

Read **Martha Brant**'s new column on politics and war, Front Lines, published online every Wednesday.

Jerry Adler hosts a Live Talk on the cover story Wednesday, Feb. 5, at noon, ET. Submit questions any time.

For an inside look at Congress, read **Eleanor Clift**'s Capitol Letter, published online every Friday.

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: JOHN GAPS III—AP, PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK, NO CREDIT (2), CHRIS USHER—APIX, DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK, NO CREDIT

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From Our Reporters: A Heads-Up Look at Scoops, Trends, Ideas, People to Watch

NORTH KOREA

Diplomacy Hits the Wall

FOR THE BUSH ADMINistration, the worsening nuclear crisis in North Korea is turning into an exercise in frustration. For years conservatives inside the administration have longed to face down the Stalinist state. But now that they have a cast-iron case—satellite pictures show the North is moving its stockpile of nuclear fuel rods—they can only shrug their shoulders.

When North Korea took its first aggressive steps—by kicking out U.N. nuclear inspectors in December—the Bush administration decided to play it cool. They ruled out military strikes against the nuclear complex at Yongbyon, and instead of rushing to the United Nations for action, allowed the inspectors themselves to take the lead.

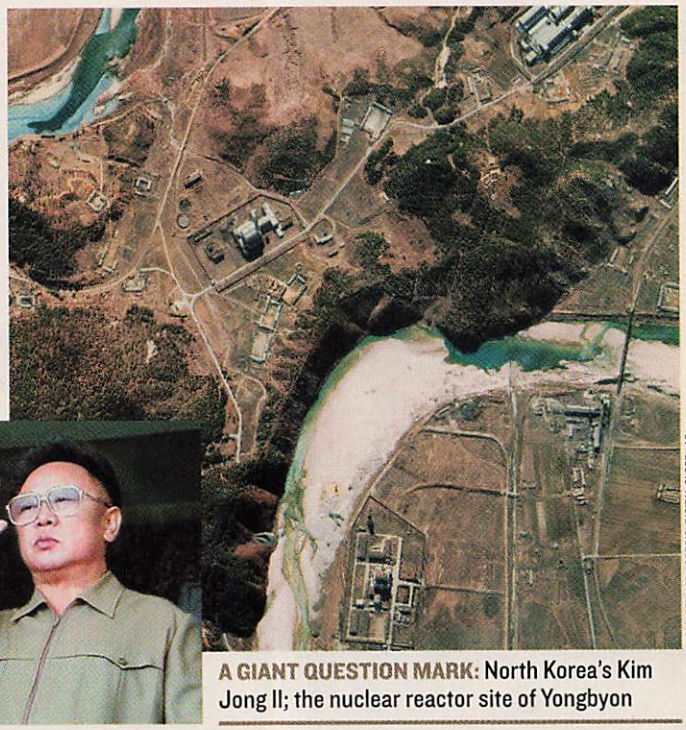
Now that go-slow approach is going even slower than the Bush administration wants. After a month of diplomacy, the United States has hit a brick wall. American officials tell NEWSWEEK that the Russian, Chinese and South Korean governments have effectively blocked the nuclear inspectors from taking North Korea to the U.N. Security Council, where the United States had hoped to bring the world together against North Korea.

A board meeting of the United Nations' nuclear inspection group, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), was scheduled for this week. But South Korean officials requested yet another delay to allow for more diplomacy. The reality has been American exasperation while North Korea stages ever more aggressive moves. "We can't get the Russians and the Chinese to help us get the IAEA to live up to its mandate," said one senior administration official.

U.S. officials say the Chinese government is deeply split over the issue, annoyed by the North Koreans but also fearful that the regime will collapse on its doorstep. The Russians, for their part, are suffering "bureaucratic inertia," according to the administration. In the meantime, the North Koreans are exploiting the crisis in Iraq to place added pressure on Washington. U.S. officials are waiting for the North to stage its next aggressive step in an attempt to shock Washington into agreeing to a big new aid package. "I anticipate a missile test probably five to eight days after we launch military strikes against Iraq," says one administration official.

Where North Korea is moving its fuel rods, nobody really knows. What U.S. officials do know is that the fuel rods—which were kept under seal since 1994—can be rapidly reprocessed into weapons-grade plutonium. North Korea, which already sells missiles to anyone who can pay hard cash, could soon go into full-scale production of nuclear weapons. That prospect—which once filled conservatives with horror—is now met with a giant question mark. "If a country is hellbent on developing nuclear weapons," says one official, "what can you do?"

-RICHARD WOLFFE



FROM LEFT: AFP—CORBIS; DIGITAL GLOBE—AP

A GIANT QUESTION MARK: North Korea's Kim Jong Il; the nuclear reactor site of Yongbyon

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

COLUMBIA MEMORIAL EDITION

The worst phone call you can get from a friend or relative these days is "turn on your TV." And it won't be the last time that's likely to happen this year.

	CW	
Crew	↑	"They slipped the surly bonds of Earth ..." Consolation: they died doing what they loved.
Shuttle program	↓	After 113 missions and increasingly creaky vehicles, it's time for an upgrade. But don't quit.
NASA	↔	Even on its worst day, reason for pride: candid, sincere and open. Could other countries match this?

SO MUCH LOVE

	CW	
Portents	↓	Baghdad sees presence of Israeli, explosion over Bush's home state as a sign of Allah's retribution. That's sick.
Bush	↔	State of the Union: Sells Iraq war, but domestic plan a nonstarter. But will he trade in his SUV for a hydrogen car?
Wallis Simpson	↓	Turns out woman Edward VIII gave up his throne for was not just a greedy Nazi symp but two-timing him too.

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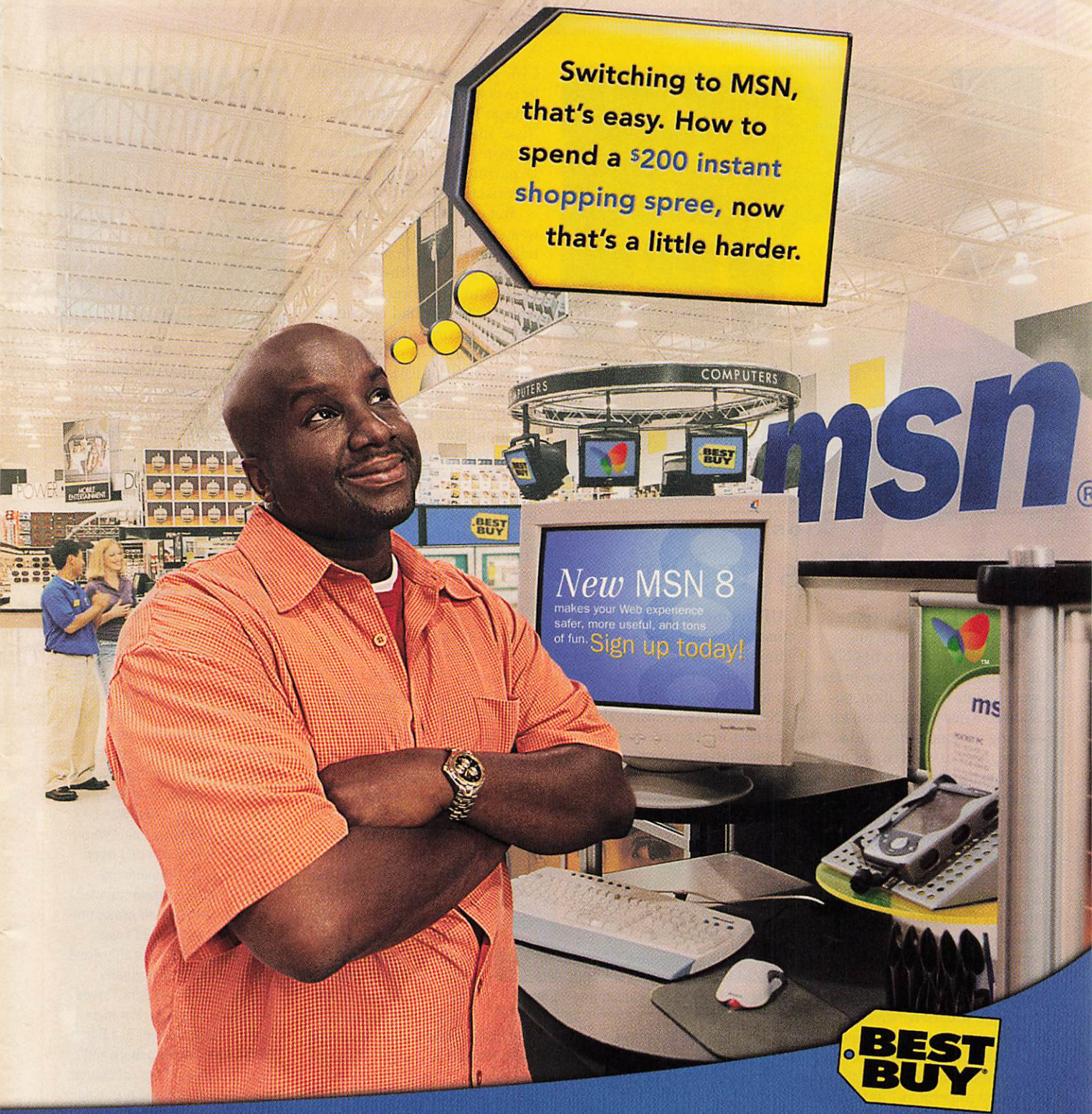
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'A MORAL IMPERATIVE': Bush's AIDS-relief plan tackles a global crisis

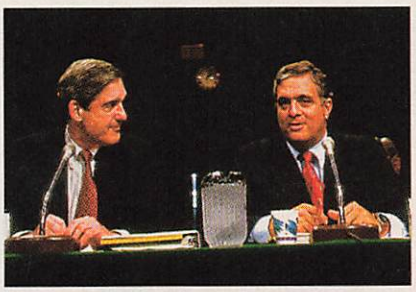
AIDS

A Crisis Gets Its Due

WHEN GEORGE W. Bush unveiled a $15 billion AIDS-relief package in last week's State of the Union, he showed a new enthusiasm for solving the epidemic—and a willingness to buck two of his key constituencies: the pharmaceutical industry and the religious right. Big Pharma has long resisted the idea of letting poor nations use generic AIDS drugs, contending that generics undermine their patents. But the new Bush plan relies on the lower-cost generics to make widespread treatment affordable. "The drug companies recognize AIDS drugs in Africa are a unique situation," says one senior administration official.

Many evangelical Christians agree that combating AIDS is "a moral imperative," as the aide puts it, but they shun a chief AIDS-prevention tool: the condom. Believing condoms encourage promiscuity, they prefer abstinence-until-marriage education instead. The Bush plan, however, relies on both. Bush's new policy won mostly glowing reviews from the global AIDS community. "The fact that he has said this is extraordinarily good news," says Sandra Thurman, president of the International AIDS Trust. "Now we have to ensure that the rhetoric becomes reality."

-DEBRA ROSENBERG and TAMARA LIPPER



NEW NEIGHBORS? Mueller and Tenet

CIA & FBI

A Forced Marriage

PRESIDENT BUSH'S announcement last week of a new Terrorist Threat Integration Center masked still simmering tensions between the FBI and CIA. The new office, which will be overseen by CIA Director George Tenet, is designed to "fuse" intelligence from both agencies, as well as the Defense Department, about potential terrorist threats to the country.

But originally, the plan was to go much further. Sources tell NEWSWEEK that prior to Bush's State of the Union, Tenet and FBI Director Robert Mueller had reached a historic accord: to move the entire Counter-Terrorism Division out of FBI headquarters and house it in a new northern Virginia office building alongside the Counter-Terrorism Center of the CIA. When word of the plan first spread through bureau headquarters last Monday, some senior agents went ballistic. "I'm a law-enforcement officer. I'm not working for any goddam CIA agent," said one FBI veteran who was on the verge of resignation.

Across the river at CIA headquarters in Langley, resistance by the spooks was just as fierce. One big concern: that the spies would have to share info obtained from foreign services under pledges of absolute confidentiality. At the last minute, one official says, Tenet "blinked" and the plan for "co-locating" the counterterrorism troops of both agencies was pulled back. But only for the time being. In a talk to his underlings the next day, Tenet said the co-location plan should still move forward so long as it could be accomplished "without jeopardizing the mission" of the CIA. Sources say a new Bush administration task force is working hard to smooth out the kinks and implement the plan soon—possibly as early as next month—whether the troops like it or not.

-MICHAEL ISIKOFF

TRANSITION

BY HIS OWN RULES: Fiedler

LESLIE FIEDLER, 85

"The typical pattern with one of my books," maverick literary critic Leslie Fiedler told NEWSWEEK in 1984, "is that when it comes out everybody abuses it. Ten years later they're still abusing it, but they've begun to steal ideas from it. Twenty years go by and they decide it's a classic, though nobody's ever said anything good about it." As usual, Fiedler, who died last week at 85, called it about right. His 1960 study "Love and Death in the American Novel"—prefigured by the famous 1948 essay "Come Back to the Raft Ag'in, Huck Honey"—proposed the once scandalous, now commonplace notion of dark sexual and racial undertones in canonical American literature. His 1983 book "What Was Literature?" (chapter one: "Who Was Leslie A. Fiedler?") irked highbrows by championing "Kojak"; today, career-minded academics hide their brows under backward baseball caps.

Fiedler, surely the only great literary critic who regularly watched "Guiding Light," loved his image as a high-low high roller. (He once went to a Dylan show with Allen Ginsberg and O. J. Simpson.) Then, of course, he'd turn around and pre-emptively fess up to "shameless" self-promotion as "a literary Fiedler on the roof of academe." But it was a self well worth promoting: a memory stocked with trash and treasures, a quicksilver intellect, a questing spirit.

-DAVID GATES

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: GEERT VAN KESTEREN, SHARON CANTILLON—BUFFALO NEWS, PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

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SEASON'S MUSINGS: Starr shares his reflections in a Christmas letter

EXCLUSIVE

Sincerely, Ken Starr

WONDERING what happened to Ken Starr after Whitewater? NEWSWEEK has obtained a copy of Starr's Christmas missive, which (in his own words) provides an update: "Ken ... is currently devoting himself to the campaign finance litigation now unfolding in a special three-judge district court in Washington. He is teaching at NYU Law School, George Mason School of Law, and (as you might expect) Sunday School." With that cleared up, excerpts from Starr's thoughts and hopes for the New Year:

"As lawyers tend to say, we the Starrs shall be brief. Considering the source of that hollow assurance, and in the grand tradition of the legal profession, here is the Starr family 'brief,' our humble pleading for 2002. But how can we turn so immediately inward to family deeds in the face of the great tide of human events flowing all about us ...

"Proudly, this nation, hewn from the vast frontier by those great generations who went before us, stands strong, recovering from the unspeakably horrid destruction visited upon the innocents on that date that rings, like December 7, 1941, in infamy. Unlike the attack 61 years ago upon America's Greatest Generation, the treachery this time came from those duly admitted into the land of the free and home of the brave. And they used our own instruments of commerce against us. Time for Homeland Security, one might say.

"We shall prevail. With apologies to no one, we already are prevailing. And not to worry about opinion polls suggesting that our popularity around the globe is sinking faster than one can utter 'NASDAQ.' Americans come from sturdy stock. We gave the world a new birth in freedom, whereas those our forebears left behind in Europe gave us Nazism, Fascism and Communism. (Take note, England is a brave and bold exception to this hothouse of political pathologies.) We'll take the Declaration of Independence and our beloved Constitution any day. And we genuinely seek good, unapologetically standing for principles which everyone should have learned in kindergarten, captured in the Golden Rule and more elaborately in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Like many American families, we have a flag on every car and one waving proudly outside our home sweet home."

LAWSUITS Food Fight

New York lawyer Samuel Hirsch weighs 155 pounds, eats tuna for lunch nearly every day and, because he keeps kosher, has never eaten at McDonald's. But when he decided last summer to sue the restaurant chain on behalf of obese teenagers who blamed fast food, he was ridiculed on talk radio and by late-night comics, who said fat people should blame themselves. Last month a federal judge dismissed Hirsch's lawsuit in a sprawling decision (one that invoked both Subway dieter Jared Fogle and Don Gorske, a Wisconsin man who's eaten a Big Mac a day for 30 years). Despite the setback, Hirsch remains resolute. "I'm not going to walk away from this now," he says. "I've become a believer in the cause." And now, Hirsch tells NEWSWEEK, he's targeting companies selling weight-loss products such as herbal supplements. Within weeks, he says, his law firm will begin placing ads in magazines to invite clients who bought the products but failed to lose weight to join a class-action lawsuit. He also intends to refile the McDonald's case. Round one may have gone to the burger flippers, but this food fight won't be over until the fat lady sings.

-DANIEL MCGINN

FAT SUIT: Taking obesity to the courts

PANHANDLING

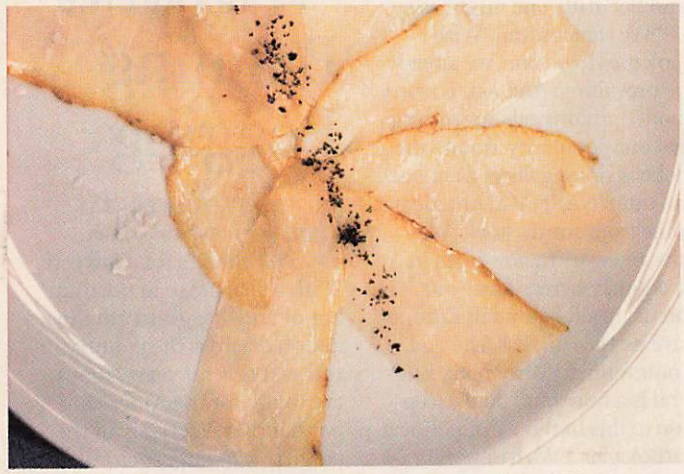
Banning Begging

HEY, MISTER, CAN you spare some change for a lawyer? With a sharp rise in the number of anti-begging ordinances adopted across the country in the past several years, times are tough for the American panhandler. Forty-six of the country's 50 largest cities now regulate begging (Atlanta outlaws "aggressive" begging, and Austin, Texas, bans panhandling anywhere in public). But some cities are getting flak for their legislation. Experts say rising homelessness and a crumbling mental-health support system nationwide have caused a marked increase in the number of panhandlers, and some argue that drafting anti-begging ordinances is not the best way to deal with the problem. "It's criminalizing homelessness," says Edward Johnson, staff attorney with the Oregon Law Center. In response, legal-aid groups are gearing up to challenge some of these ordinances as unconstitutional. "If many of these ordinances were challenged they would be thrown out," says Scott Cameron of the New Mexico Center on Law and Poverty in Albuquerque. "Unfortunately, most beggars can't afford lawyers."

-PAUL TOLME

DON'T ASK: Cities get tough

FROM TOP: GENE J. PUSKAR—AP, MIKE SIMONS—GETTY IMAGES, MARTIN PARR—MAGNUM PHOTOS



LIVIN' LA VIDA LARDO: 'It's quite prized,' says Canales of Oliveto

FOOD

Layering On Lardo

LOOK UP. YOU SEE that photograph? That, friends, is what you call *lardo*, which is the Italian way to say lard, which is another name for pork fat. At his new Manhattan place, Otto, chef Mario Batali is slicing thin strips of his lardo—pig fat taken from the back of the neck and cured for about six months—on top of individual pizza pies. He sells more than 20 a day, even though the topping doesn't look like much when it melts. But, oh, the aroma—"like the most perfect bacon smell in the morning," says Batali. At Oliveto, in Oakland, Calif., chef Paul Canales slices it and puts it on a platter of house-cured salamis, or he works it in a mortar with garlic to make a spread. He may wrap beefsteak tomatoes with it, too, then grill them. He'll use lardo somehow when the restaurant hosts its annual Whole Hog Dinner in late February. "I wish that was the trend," says Canales, "that chefs dug in and really appreciated what you could do with the whole animal."

-BRET BEGUN

BOOKS

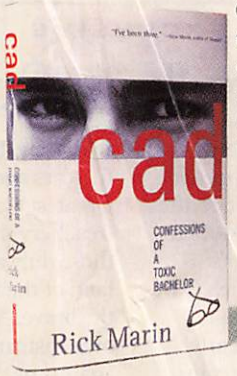
The Toxic Avenger

RICK MARIN AND I overlapped at NEWSWEEK for only a bit. It's really too bad. After reading "Cad: Confessions of a Toxic Bachelor," due out next week, I'm thinking he would have made a superb mentor. He schooled me last week:

Love your dedication: "For my parents, who caused none of my problems."

My father always had time for me. I was never molested by the babysitter. I am, by definition, not interesting because I have no advertisable dysfunction. That was the origin of the book. I was sick of whiny memoirs where people blame everyone but themselves. I originally thought of this as an anti-memoir about a normal guy in a crazy world. Then I realized it's really boring to write about a normal guy. I had to zest it up.

Yeah, combined, my friends and I haven't had that many dates. And we're pretty toxic.



I changed names and details. But they're all based on real experiences I had. If anything, I hold myself up as a typical guy. Believe me, it's much easier to get girls with each passing year.

Good.

You're employed and you're heterosexual. That alone puts you in the 99th percentile in New York.

Why do women want cads?

Cads are more fun than the knapsack-carrying guy who spends five hours talking about his breakthrough in therapy. The cad is focused entirely on you, not himself.

Being Canadian help?

It makes you seem marginally intriguing. Women will say things to you like, "Oh, I love Toronto! It's so clean!"

Do women underestimate how important a guy's male friends are to him?

They think we're talking about beer and strippers. And sometimes that is what we're talking about. But when I needed them, my guy friends rallied.

Ilene, your fiancée, read this?

I had this bulletin board and these index cards with the different chapters and she'd look up and see something like: "Night of Five Stewardesses," "Blanche." She'd say, "I didn't know about that!" Not that there ever was a Night of Five Stewardesses. If only. Without her, I wouldn't have been able to write this. I wanted to show a guy who goes from nowhere to having good things happen. I just wanted to make it seem like, as much as I complain about bachelor hell, there is a lot of fun to be had in one's single life. Enjoy it. Don't just lament it all the time.

-B.B.

HOAXES Hey, Don't You Have a Sister?

Where Mary-Kate and Ashley Olsen, two of America's richest teenagers, wind up going to college will certainly make news. But the announcement probably won't generate massive global interest. Which is why guys across America should've known something wasn't right last week when they got a link to a supposed CNN.com/WORLD story telling of the twins' decision to enroll at—well, name the school, and they were going. Northwestern. Duke. Texas A&M. Michigan. Dayton. Cincinnati. The untruths—the twins, 16, still have a year left of high school—came from the Fake CNN.com News Generator, which is, according to the site, "merely set up to play jokes on our friends." And incoming male freshmen. "You have no idea how happy I was when I read that," e-mails one Yakima, Wash., high schooler headed to Northwestern. The stars of such direct-to-video releases as "You're Invited to Mary-Kate & Ashley's Mall of America Party" "have shown interest in a couple of schools in and around New York City," a spokesman tells NEWSWEEK. You have no idea how happy *some* people were around here when they heard that.

-B.B.

LEARNING EXPERIENCE: A fake alert

FROM TOP: PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK FERRI FOR NEWSWEEK, PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIAN GOLLINGS FOR NEWSWEEK, NO CREDIT

Demystifying the Adoption Option

Was taking in my brother-in-law's kids a noble act? I quickly realized the answer is beside the point.

BY NANCY HANNER

ELEVEN YEARS AGO, I ARRIVED at the funeral of my brother-in-law as both a mourning relative and the sudden legal guardian of his two children. It was the family's second funeral in the course of a year. Nine months earlier, my sister-in-law, niece and nephew had died in a tragic accident. People approached me, pressed my hands and said, "You are so wonderful to take these children."

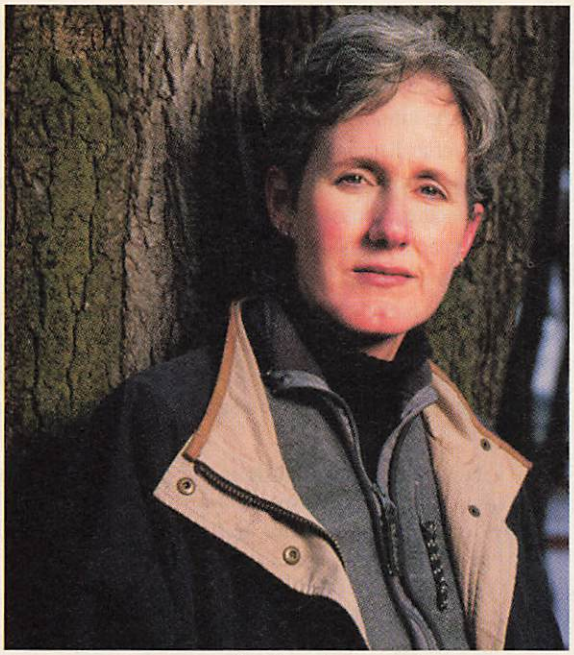
It was a noble view of adoption, with me the rescuer, the saver of children. It was tempting to buy into it, and I did at times. But once I got down to the business of raising children, I found that that perspective had little to do with the reality of creating a family.

After the funeral, my husband and I moved into my brother-in-law's house so we wouldn't further disrupt the lives of our new 18-month-old son and 2½-year-old daughter. Those first three months were so stressful I developed a case of hives that I couldn't shake. The hives eventually went away, but it took a lot longer to work through the emotional problems. Despite my best efforts at forging a relationship with her, my daughter gave me the cold shoulder for the first five years she was with us. Her favorite story was "Cinderella," and I'm fairly certain I wasn't the Fairy Godmother.

I have a friend who became a full-time stepmother one weekend when her husband's ex-wife decided she could no longer care for the children. She raised the kids, monitoring late-night asthma attacks, baking room-mother treats and sitting through Scout meetings.

"My daughter invited me to the mother's weekend at college," she told me one day. "Then she found out her real mother could make it, so she called back to uninvite me."

I was shocked at her daughter's heartless treatment of the mother who had always been there for her. My friend and I are No. 2—we will never truly be No. 1 in our kids' eyes, and that is one of the not-so-nice realities of adoption.



PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHERINE LAMBERT FOR NEWSWEEK

UNEXPECTED FAMILY: The first three months were so stressful I developed a case of hives I couldn't shake

We are quick to point out what we consider our children's misdirected loyalties, but what of our own? My friend's preference would have been to have raised a traditional family with her husband. Mine was also to have children of my own, which I attempted to do without success for seven years. However much we pretend otherwise, our adopted children were second choices for us.

So there it is. Our children want what they have lost, and so do we. They have lost their blood ties to parents. We have lost our visions of family, the dream of how our lives should look.

I recently read about a family who brought a baby girl back from China. The whole family passionately wanted to do this. The oldest son comes home from college more often now so he can play with her. The kids developed a schedule because they all wanted to hold her at the same time. This family adopted their daughter for the purest of reasons: they had love to give, and felt compelled to offer it. That's all. So many people don't start in the right place as this family did, but those who are willing to work through the disillusionment that follows have a chance to grow into a real family unit.

A few months ago my 12-year-old daughter called from her grandmother's house, where she was visiting for the week. She has a special bond with this grandmother, the mother of the mother she lost. "I miss the dog," she said, then laughed. "Oh, and I miss you, too." When I hung up, I was glad for all those years that we moved slowly together, circling each other—afraid to place our vulnerability in each other's hands. She did miss me. I could hear it in her voice.

My son is now old enough to understand chromosomes and the steps beyond the mechanics of reproduction. My husband's blood runs through my son, but mine does not, and he knows it. "There is a ceremony," I told him, thinking this would appeal greatly to an 11-year-old boy, "where we can become blood brothers. We can do it if you want." He considered it and said no, I imagine because of the part involving blood. Now I wonder if it was I who wanted the ceremony, if I was still longing for the solidity of a blood bond.

I feel ridiculous for having suggested this idea, realizing he has no need for such things—that he is, in fact, exactly where he should be. He knows where his family is, both the one that is buried and the one that sits at the hockey rink, watching him play. And because he is such a great kid, he is willing to be patient with a mother who sometimes likes to make her mission much more complicated than what it really is: the offering of family, simple, sweet and pure.

HANNER lives in Lexington, Ky.

Letters

The Question of Diversity

YOU DID A GOOD JOB OF PROBING INTO the legal and political aspects of affirmative action ("Spinning Race," Jan. 27). Yes, an increase in the minority-enrollment rate is the apparent and immediate effect of affirmative action. But what's needed is an assessment of this policy's long-term impact. After more than 30 years, have minorities achieved upward social mobility, as originally intended? You can't maintain affirmative action just because there is so much emotion around it. If it failed to achieve what it was created for, then what's the point of keeping it?

KELLY Y. LIN
EL CERRITO, CALIF.

WITH AFFIRMATIVE ACTION COMING TO the fore again, it is heartening to see the discussion begin to move to a greater concern for the truly disadvantaged: the poor. As a teacher in a diverse public school, I struggle daily to bridge the gap that exists between minority students (mostly black and Hispanic) and the white majority. In my classroom, students whose parents make millions sit next to students who depend on public aid for basic necessities, and this difference—not the color of their skin—is the single biggest indicator of their success or failure in school and often life. In my school's recent state test scores, low-income students as a group scored lower in both reading and math than black, Hispanic or special-education students. It is time to stop simplifying the "gap" as the difference between black and white and begin to start seeing it as the gulf between the haves and the have-nots.

ELIZABETH JACKSON
CHICAGO, ILL.

MY SON IS CURRENTLY APPLYING TO medical school. He comes from an average family. We have instilled in him what I feel to be the right values regarding all people he meets. I think it is outrageous to award placement in schools or jobs based on race. In the 1960s, when I was a teenager, perhaps race and segregation were big factors in admissions. Today I believe this is no longer necessary and anything remotely like affirmative action is just another "dumbing down" of our schools and our businesses. My point is: evaluate all applicants for grades, personality, expertise in their field, etc., and totally leave out race.

RITA BOGRAD
CORAL SPRINGS, FLA.

WHY DO WE FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THAT affirmative action is merely a bandage for a larger and more important problem? If those who are in lower socioeconomic classes had access to comparable educational resources, this would not be an issue. The ultimate goal is to improve precollege public education, do away with affirmative action and accept students based on merit.

NORMAN C. WANG
LATHAM, N.Y.

THE AFFIRMATIVE-ACTION DEBATE FREquently cites examples of other non-merit-based factors that may gain students some access. But considerations of who your family is, which sports you play and where you're from are not illegal. Race-based programs are. Just read the 14th Amendment to our Constitution. The merits of affirmative action aside, let's be honest. If you believe it's the way to go, then say it loud and clear: amend the Constitution.

NORM BRENNAN
KENAI, ALASKA

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WAS A BITTER pill for me to swallow when I applied to medical school in 1976. It still tastes pretty damn sour.

PHILLIP I. MENASHE, M.D.
YAKIMA, WASH.

ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS CERTAINLY HIT the nail on the head with his column ("... But Not at This Cost"). I am a black woman who wholeheartedly agrees with him. I want my children and grandchildren to earn whatever they get and not have it given to them. Affirmative action should be based on need and not race. I know there are still inequities handed out because of race. In my 58 years, I've felt them. But my father always taught my siblings and me that you have to work for what you want. That way you will appreciate having it and feel some self-worth.

JACKIE COBBS
AIKEN, S.C.

I'M WAITING ANXIOUSLY FOR THE PRESident to file a friend of the court brief questioning the constitutionality of admissions policies that give preference to rich white kids with mediocre academics whose daddies happen to be influential alumni.

DAN FRAKES
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

SKIN-PIGMENT DIVERSITY IS NOT CULtural diversity. There is more cultural diversity between a Bronx merchant and an Arizona rancher than between black and white high-school students raised in suburban Minneapolis.

FRANK DEFT
HORSE SHOE, N.C.

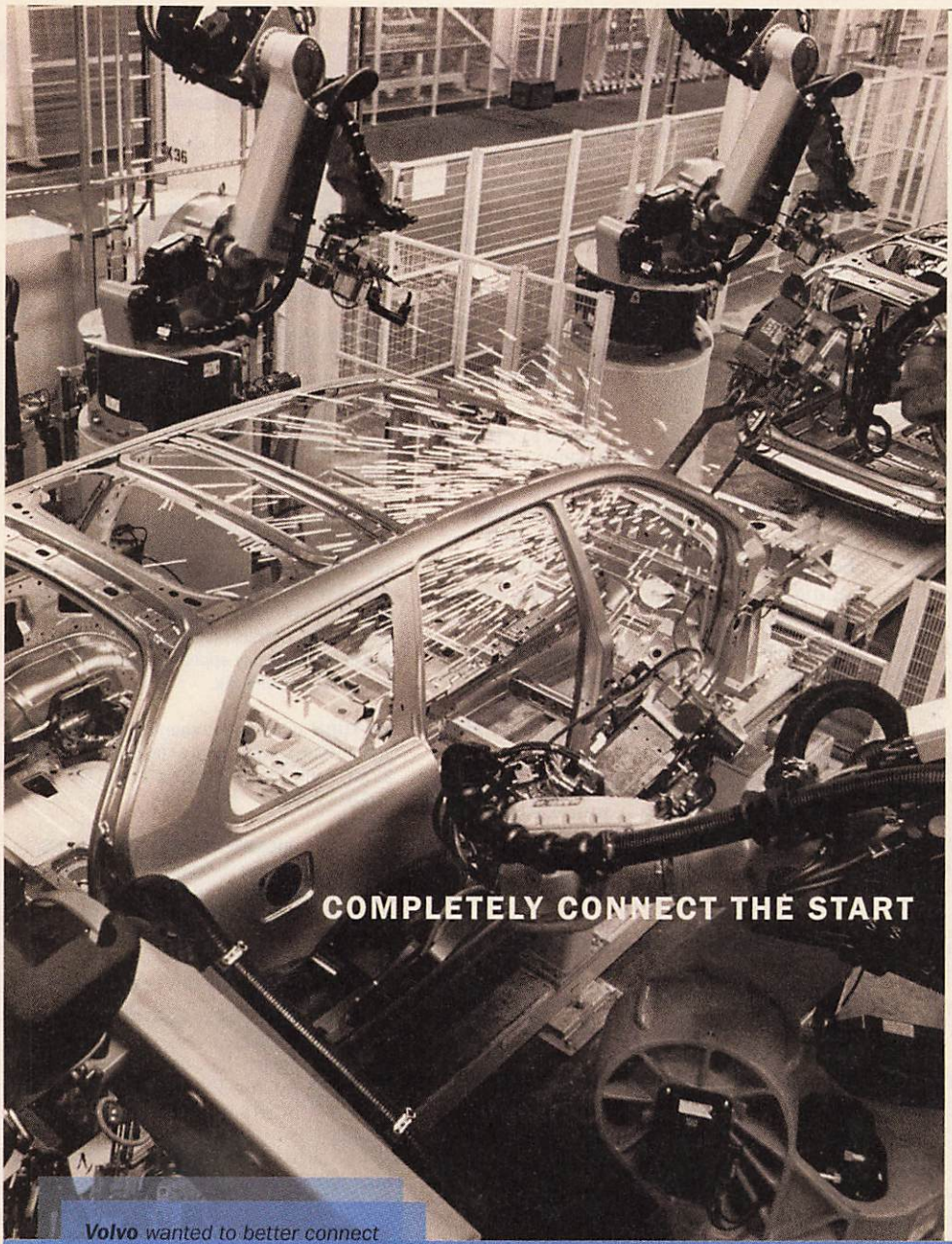
BLACKS AND NATIVE AMERICANS HAVE both been the victims of official, government-sanctioned repression and, indeed, violence. Both peoples have been in this country from the very beginning (or much longer) and both are, by any quantifier, Americans. If there is to be affirmative action, blacks and Native Americans certainly merit inclusion. But I cannot understand how Hispanics got into the picture. The

MAIL CALL

Not Just an Issue of Black and White

THE REWIRING OF SONY • ROE V. WADE TURNS 30
Newsweek
Do We Still Need Affirmative Action?
10 Ways to Think About It Now
Bush's Race Game

Scores of impassioned readers of our Jan. 27 cover story shared their thoughts about and experiences with affirmative action. While many lauded the opportunities afforded over the past 30 years, others bitterly decried what one called a policy of "legalized reverse discrimination," which "penalizes achievement in favor of race." Critical of those who offer "nothing in the way of specific remedies," one noted that "for all its grave flaws, affirmative action is specific, efficient and gets the job done." A high-school senior echoed the call for a reassessment of the program. "Affirmative action based on socioeconomic status, rather than race, would benefit all applicants regardless of ethnic background." Another agreed, saying that the criteria for affirmative action should be adjusted so that it doesn't favor "a black doctor's son over a white janitor's son, thus helping the [truly] historically disadvantaged."



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Hispanic population is made up largely of immigrants or children of immigrants and has not been oppressed by government policies. I am not aware of affirmative action concerning immigrants from Greece or Italy or Russia. Why, then, are Hispanics singled out for inclusion in programs that were originally devised to assist those who have been historically held back?

DONALD M. MILLER
GREENSBORO, N.C.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COVERAGE OF affirmative action and for showing both sides of the issue. But what your articles fail to say is that Executive Order 11246 was amended in 1967 to include women. Additional acts included veterans and the disabled. My experience has been that affirmative action is never an issue until it involves people of color. The University of Michigan attempts to be objective in its selection process by assigning points to various areas, eliminating the potential for bias. Race is not the determining factor. I'd like to add that while white women have benefited most from affirmative action, they were the initiators of the complaints in both the Texas and Michigan cases. How unfortunate that what was a cause for those discriminated against in the past has now become a divisive issue based on race.

THERESA RODRIGUEZ
JOLIET, ILL.

Ethics and Elder Health Care

THANKS TO DIANA CONWAY FOR HER excellent article about Medicaid and nursing homes ("Cheating Uncle Sam for Mom and Dad," MY TURN, Jan. 27). I had an identical experience five years ago when my mother entered a nursing home. I found people there who quite obviously had given their assets to their children so that they could receive Medicaid. I even had a former nursing-home official advise me to have my mother's assets arranged so the nursing home would not "get all her money." Medicaid was intended to provide medical assistance to the indigent, not to people who make themselves indigent so that they can live at the government's expense.

WILLIAM J. GORDON
HOPKINSVILLE, KY.

MY 80-PLUS-YEAR-OLD PARENTS LIVE on a small farm and have little income and no savings. They have spent their entire lives below the poverty line, but they've always had enough to live on. The farm is their only asset, but if either needs nursing-home care, the government will devour it. According to Diana Conway, if my family tries to protect this farm from being lost, we are unethical. We live in the richest nation on earth, yet we fail to provide adequate health care (and long-term care) for millions of our children, elderly and others who simply can't pay. Our country's choice to be irresponsible about health care is what's truly unethical and something for which we should all be ashamed.

JOHN FLETCHER
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

AS SOMEONE WHO SELLS INSURANCE and financial products, I often tell my clients about a third possibility other than finding ways to cheat the government or seeing one's life savings go to a nursing-home owner. Buying long-term health-care insurance for those who qualify is an effective solution. For relatively little cost, policies will pay the money for care in a nursing facility or at home if a person becomes infirm. In this way, people like Diana Conway's father can leave a moral as well as fiscal legacy to their children.

BARRY P. GOLDBERG
LIVINGSTON, N.J.

Who Controls the Womb?

I'M ONE OF THE WOMEN ANNA QUINDlen describes in her Jan. 27 column ("Out of the Time Warp"). I "understand the fine points of reproduction," "have a sense of ownership of the equipment" and even know my "rights and limitations." But none of that means I automatically support abortion. There is more at stake here than Quindlen seems willing to admit. There is also a developing life, a beating heart, a potential baby. I don't want women to resort to back-alley abortions, nor be forced to bear the children of their rapists. And I don't want women denied the means to end a truly devastating pregnancy. But neither do I think abortion should be seen as just an assertion of control over our bodies, the moral equivalent of liposuction or a nose job. Can't we admit that an abortion is a terrible thing and acknowledge that while sometimes necessary, it's always a tragedy?

ELAINE ROSE GLICKMAN
HOUSTON, TEXAS

OPPOSING WHAT GOES ON IN SOMEONE else's body to the extent that laws are passed is insane. Would the anti-abortionists then want laws against being fat? Let's not legislate any additional morality but instead make churches, schools and fami-

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THE MAGAZINE

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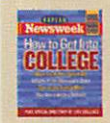

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For a brochure with more information on this important review, visit the AGA website at www.gastro.org.

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Letters

lies do their jobs to prevent unwanted pregnancy. We must teach prevention and abstinence. When both sides can come together, we'll solve the question.

FRANK ADAIR
GULFPORT, MISS.

WHEN THE DAY COMES THAT THERE ARE no children in need of good foster care and none left languishing in orphanages, even I may reconsider *Roe v. Wade*. Until then, I agree wholeheartedly with Anna Quindlen.

ELLEN MCKEON-LEVINE
NATICK, MASS.

Marching for Peace

I WAS PLEASED TO SEE THE PHOTO OF the antiwar gatherings of Jan. 18 ("Peaceful Protest," 1000 WORDS, Jan. 27). But I was angered that you said the antiwar slogans "mingling with pro-marijuana pamphlets and pro-choice signs ... felt, at times, like a grab bag of activist causes." This makes the rallies seem as if they were just another liberal stunt made up of pro-abortion pot smokers. This is not true. People who took the stand against war in Iraq included my Republican, pro-life, Christian parents as well as two busloads of people from my conservative town. If there were signs advocating other causes, they were a few out of hundreds of thousands.

ANNE WENDLAND
ROCHESTER, MINN.

The Widening Taxation Debate

IF I UNDERSTAND ROBERT J. SAMUELSON correctly, the rich are different because they pay more taxes, and the poor are corrupted by things like Social Security benefits, free public schooling and probably toll-free highways ("The Rich and Everyone Else," Jan. 27). So my view that the rich also have more and better vacations, bigger houses and the ability to pay for elite educations for their children, while the poor struggle to afford health insurance, decent housing and college tuition, is an example of European-style class warfare? What country does Samuelson live in? Not mine.

BARBARA MCGOWAN
RIPON, WIS.

THERE IS A HUGE QUESTION OF HOW much is enough when it comes to taxation and narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor. At what point do taxes become a disincentive for the wealthy to work hard and keep trying to earn more? At what point does redistribution to the less well off become a disincentive to do the same? It seems that with the huge and widening gap between rich and poor in this country, we are a long way from reaching either of those points. This is not to say that redistribution couldn't be done better. What really disturbs me about Samuelson's essay is the implication that we vote for our short-term pocketbooks rather than what is best for society at large (and, therefore, ultimately ourselves) in the long term. More disturbing is my fear that he's right.

PETER H. SAMMOND
MINNETONKA, MINN.

Correction

IN A CAPTION ACCOMPANYING A PHOTO of the 1941 University of Michigan football team in our Jan. 27 issue, we said that 4.3 percent of the players on the team were black ("What's at Stake"). The correct figure (for the varsity team) is 1.7 percent. We also said that 45 percent of the 2002 team was black; the correct number is 42 percent.

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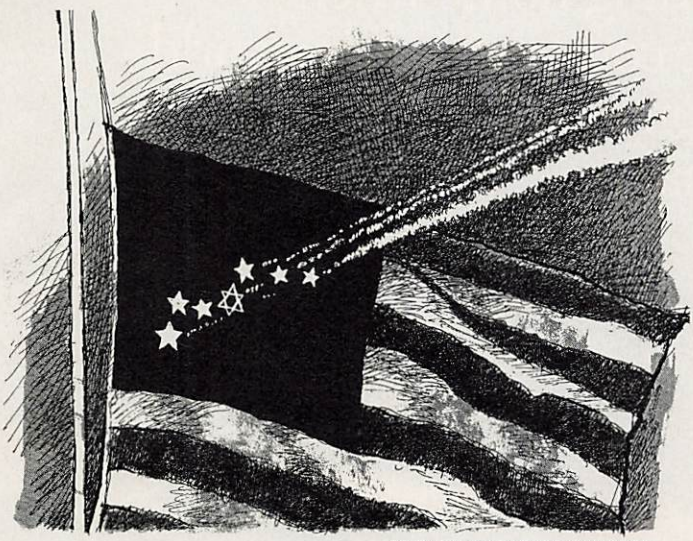
"The Columbia is gone. There are no survivors."

President **George W. Bush,** on the loss of the space shuttle 200,000 feet above Texas



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"While Mrs. Bush understands the right of all Americans to express their political views, this event was designed to celebrate poetry." Statement from the First Lady's press office, on the postponement of Laura Bush's "Poetry and the American Voice" after the White House learned that several poets wanted to use the event to speak out against war with Iraq

"You're a loser!" **Sydney Simpson,** 17, to her father, O. J. Simpson, while on the phone with the 911 operator she called after the two got into an argument

"I realize it was very stupid of me. I will not do it again ... I had obviously turned off the sound." **Trond Helleland,** a member of Norway's Parliament, apologizing for playing a war game on his pocket computer while the legislators around him debated the possibility of a real war with Iraq

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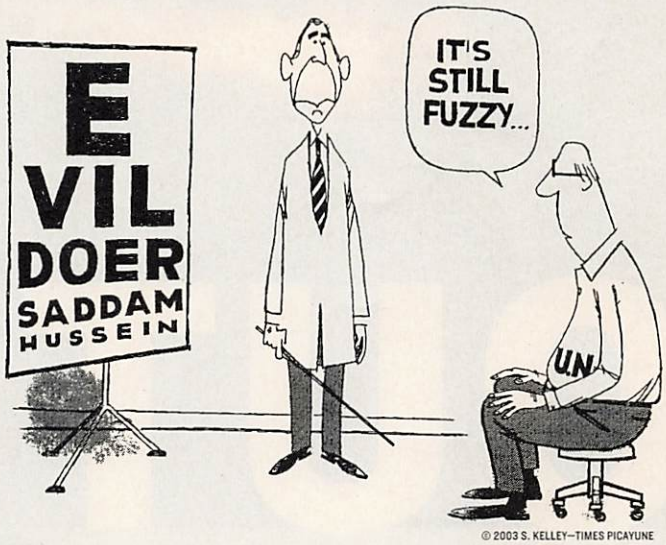
"That's the way of saying this is an issue the international community isn't going to duck. The U.N.'s got to be the way of dealing with this issue, not the way of avoiding dealing with it." British Prime Minister **Tony Blair,** on getting a second U.N. Security Council resolution before launching military action

"You're not going to stand me down. You'll go down. You will be judged by Allah. Your flag will come down and so will your country." **Richard Reid,** who pleaded guilty to trying to blow up a transatlantic flight with explosives concealed in his shoes, on being sentenced to life in prison

"You are a terrorist, and we do not negotiate with terrorists. We hunt them down one by one and bring them to justice." Federal District Court Judge **William G. Young,** to Reid



© 2003 S. KELLEY—TIMES PICAYUNE

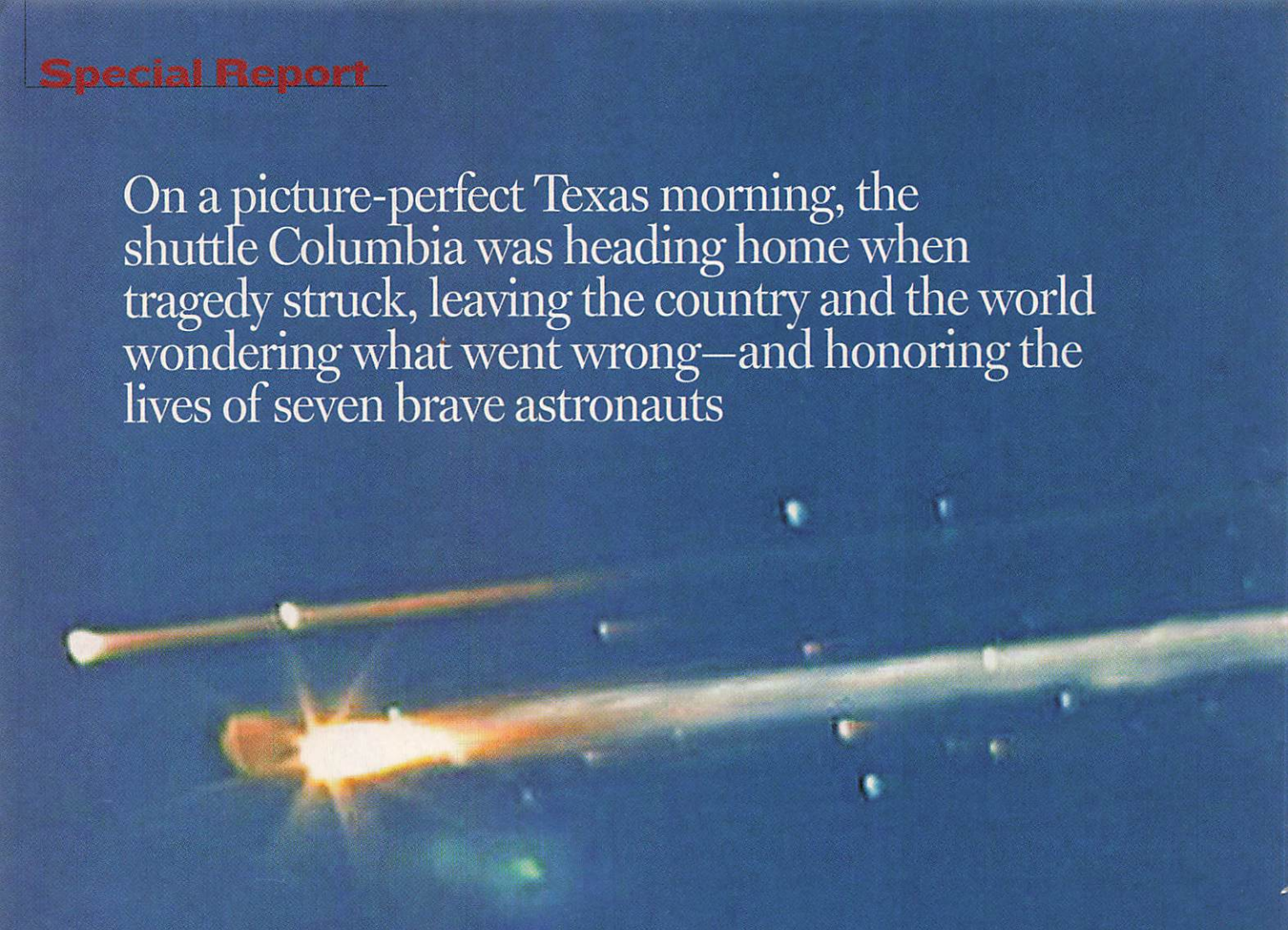
"Everyone needs patrons in the kingdom of heaven, and perhaps the Internet, as a very young child, needs the interventions of a saint all the more." **James P. Moroney,** an expert on prayer and worship for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, on Italian Roman Catholics launching a search for a patron saint of the Internet

"[Since I am] still in the game and might win the lovely bugger outright, would the academy please defer the honor until I am 80?" **Peter O'Toole,** in a letter to the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, on being selected to receive the lifetime-achievement award

"You've never met me; you don't know me. You've never been to my house. You don't live with me. You don't sleep with me. All you do is talk about me." **Whitney Houston,** after New York radio personality Wendy Williams asked personal questions during an interview that was supposed to promote Houston's new album

QUOTATION SOURCES FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: THE WASHINGTON POST, NEW YORK POST, REUTERS, CNN, NEW YORK TIMES (2), CNN (2), "ENTERTAINMENT TONIGHT"

On a picture-perfect Texas morning, the shuttle Columbia was heading home when tragedy struck, leaving the country and the world wondering what went wrong—and honoring the lives of seven brave astronauts



OUT OF T

HE BLUE

LOST LIVES: Columbia's trail (above), the crew of six Americans and one Israeli

TOP TO BOTTOM: PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SCOTT LIEBERMAN-TYLER MORNING TELEGRAPH—AP, JOE SKIPPER—REUTERS

A GRIM SEARCH: Last Saturday, astronauts combed the Texas countryside for pieces of the shuttle, which were spread over at least three states

BY EVAN THOMAS

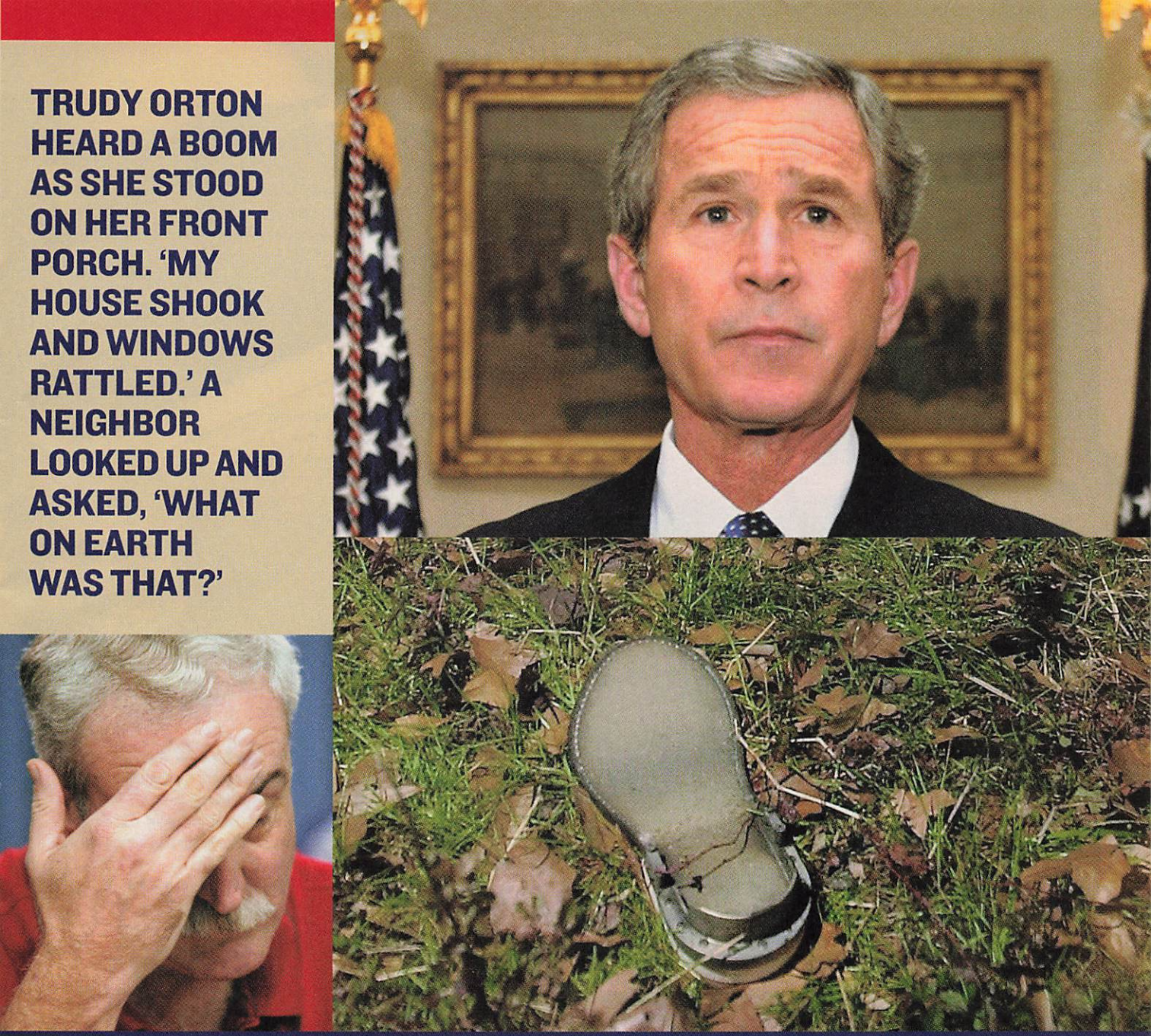
TONY BEASLEY, AN ASTRONOMER AT THE CALIfornia Institute of Technology, got up early, along with his wife and mother-in-law, to watch the space shuttle fly overhead. It was a little after 5:45 a.m., California time, 7:45 a.m. at Mission Control in Houston, 8:45 a.m. at Cape Canaveral in Florida. Beasley could see the bright glow of the shuttle as it came over California's Owens Valley, bound for a Florida landing, still 60 miles high, traveling at about 20 times the speed of sound. Then he noticed some bright flashes, just small ones at first. Beasley idly wondered if the shuttle was shedding some debris as it entered the atmosphere. He didn't make much of it; he thought he recalled that space shuttles sometimes lost a few tiles as the craft burned into the atmosphere. But then he noticed a large pulse of light. "It was like a big flare being dropped from the shuttle," he told NEWSWEEK. "It didn't seem normal."

A few minutes later, a few hundred miles to the east in Red Oak, Texas, Trudy Orton heard a boom as she stood on her front porch in the brightening morning. She thought it was a natural-gas explosion. "My house shook and windows rattled." Her dog ran into the house and hid. A neighbor, loading her car, looked up and asked, "What on earth was that?" Orton looked up and saw a white streak of smoke across the sky. "It wasn't a sleek little straight line like the jets make. It was billowing like a puffy cloud."

At the Kennedy Space Center at 9 a.m., ET, the festive crowd—NASA officials, fam-

DAVID J. PHILLIP—AP

TRUDY ORTON HEARD A BOOM AS SHE STOOD ON HER FRONT PORCH. 'MY HOUSE SHOOK AND WINDOWS RATTLED.' A NEIGHBOR LOOKED UP AND ASKED, 'WHAT ON EARTH WAS THAT?'



A LONG DAY: NASA's Sean O'Keefe struggles before the press (above, left); Bush addresses the nation (top); a boot sole apparently from a crew member (above)

ily members of the astronauts, local dignitaries and politicians, even a representative of the Israeli government, on hand to honor Israel's first astronaut, Col. Ilan Ramon—eagerly listened for the familiar sonic boom, heralding the arrival of the returning shuttle. But as the skies remained silent, the burble of chatter died down, then grew anxious. At about 9:05, mobile phones began to ring. Suddenly, officials were herding family members into buses. The countdown clock continued to wind down to the scheduled 9:16 landing. But the crowd was already gone.

There was a time, before the space shuttle Challenger blew up 17 years ago, when NASA claimed the likelihood of a catastrophic accident was 1 in 100,000. NASA later increased the risk to 1 in 148. The astronauts know the danger. They try not to think about it, "but you know it's very risky," says Mike Mullane, an astronaut who retired in 1990. Mullane admitted that on launch, "I wasn't scared, I was terrified."

The specialists inside Mission Control were well aware that the complex machines they put into space and then hope to bring home again are potential deathtraps. The rest of us forget, until a tragedy occurs, and the nation and the world are left mourning the loss of the astonishing array of hope and talent that routinely fly aboard the shuttles—113 trips, so far. When the shuttle Columbia disintegrated over Texas last Saturday morning, it took with it an Air Force colonel and test pilot (whose last job had been chief of safety for the astronaut office); a former Eagle Scout fighter jock (second in his class at Annapolis); a veteran African-American astronaut making his second trip into space; an Indian-born woman with a Ph.D. who enjoyed flying aerobatics; a medical doctor who had performed in the circus as an acrobat; another medical doctor who was a mother, and an Israeli Air Force hero who had bombed Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor in 1981.

The seven crew members of the Columbia were finishing a 16-day mission that had gone off without a hitch. In between conducting dozens of scientific experiments, there had been plenty of time for stargazing. Astronaut Kalpana Chawla had told reporters how much, on a prior

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE—AP, IAN MCVEA—FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM, RICK FOWLER—REUTERS

Final Flight

The rigors of re-entry may have sealed the shuttle's fate.

1 8:15 a.m.: Flying upside down and backward, Columbia fires its engines over the Indian Ocean, slowing down enough to slip out of orbit.

2 8:30 a.m.: Columbia raises its nose, allowing the heat-resistant belly to take the brunt of atmospheric friction.

INSULATION: The shuttle is coated with more than 20,000 tiles designed to protect the aluminum shell from the heat of re-entry. Loss of the tiles may expose the craft to damaging temperatures.

A Tragic Mission

Minutes before it was supposed to land on Saturday, the space shuttle Columbia exploded in flames over Texas, killing all seven crew members onboard. The shuttle, NASA's first in flight, was finishing up its 28th mission. An overview:

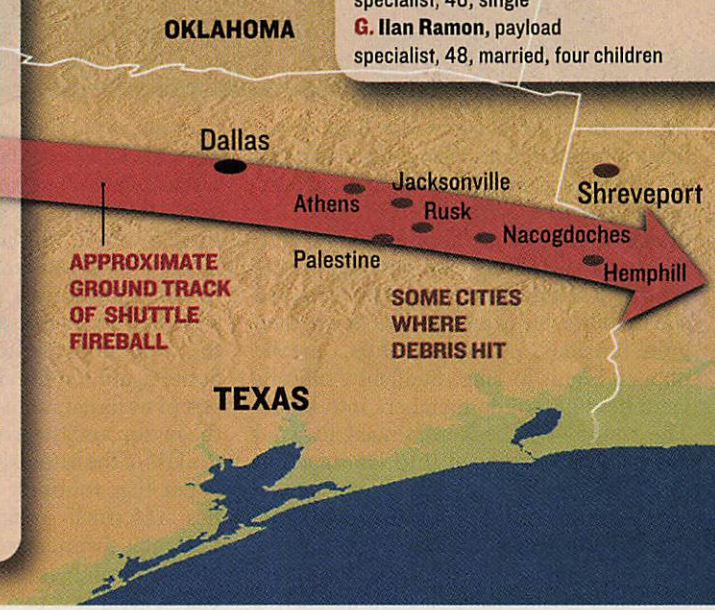
The Crew

A. Rick Husband, commander, 45, married with two children
B. William McCool, pilot, 41, married
C. Laurel Clark, mission specialist, 41, married, one child
D. Kalpana Chawla, mission specialist, 41, married
E. Michael Anderson, payload commander, 43, married
F. David Brown, mission specialist, 46, single
G. Ilan Ramon, payload specialist, 48, married, four children

The Initial Problem?

Foam insulating Columbia's external fuel tank broke loose during the Jan. 16 launch. Images show it striking the left wing, where it may have dislodged protective tiles, making the shuttle vulnerable to excessive heat.

THE LAUNCH: The images show a slight burst as insulation hits the left wing. Prior to re-entry, NASA downplayed the damage. But problems apparently started in the left wing during Columbia's disintegration.



Shuttle Stress Points

Temperatures can reach 3,000 degrees when the shuttle hits the atmosphere. The nose and the leading edges of the wings get the worst of it. Heat-resistant materials protect these vulnerable surfaces.

HOT ZONES: Red areas indicate spots on the shuttle that get the most heat during entry.

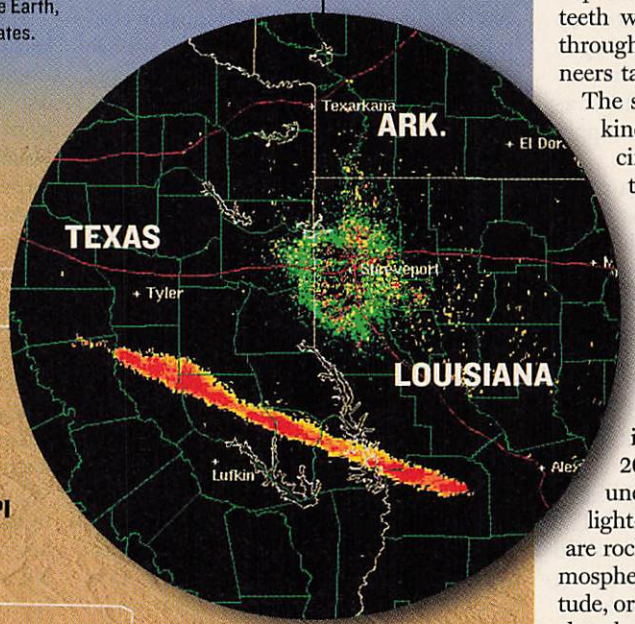
3 8:45 a.m.: The shuttle reaches Earth's atmosphere. Soon after, heat sensors go out on the left wing, possibly indicating a problem.

5 9:15 a.m.: Witnesses spot flaming debris streaking through the skies over eastern Texas.

4 9 a.m.: Houston radios the crew. The shuttle sends a garbled response, then transmissions go silent. At 200,000 feet above Earth, Columbia disintegrates.

The Debris

The shuttle fell apart near Tyler, Texas, and debris spread across east Texas and into neighboring Louisiana and Arkansas. The yellow and orange in the radar image (right) show the fireball track as the Columbia falls apart.



ARKANSAS

MISSISSIPPI

Alexandria

LOUISIANA

Gulf of Mexico

SOURCES: NASA, AP, NATIONAL WEATHER SERVICE, SPACEFLIGHTNOW.COM, FLORIDATODAY.COM, SAM REGISTER—NEWSWEEK RESEARCH CENTER, CARTOGRAPHY BY ROBERT KEMP.

RESEARCH AND TEXT BY KAREN YOURISH AND JOSH ULICK. GRAPHIC BY KEVIN HAND, TONIA COWAN AND KARL GUDE—NEWSWEEK

shuttle mission, she had enjoyed "watching the continents go by, the thunderstorms shimmering in the clouds, the city lights at night." She flew over her native India and saw the Himalayas for the last time less than an hour before she died.

By about 7 a.m. Eastern time, the astronauts had just about finished up the chore of checking the hundreds of switches in the crew module, verifying that they were in the right position for re-entry. In Florida, early-morning fog still shrouded the runway at Cape Canaveral, but NASA officials were confident the haze would burn off. The weather had been perfect for the launch; the forecast was for blue skies at the landing.

Launches are the most frightening part of spaceflight. "On re-entry you have some elevated apprehension, but nowhere near what you feel on launch," says astronaut Mullane. "Because you don't have any engines running, it's a much more passive event; you don't have the same threat of death hanging over you that you do on launch." Even so, re-entry is perilous. Space fans and moviegoers will recall the tension when the heat shield came loose on John Glenn's space capsule as it returned to Earth in 1962, or the drama captured by "Apollo 13" as the astronauts gritted their teeth while their fragile capsule rocketed through the atmospheric inferno. Engineers talk about "the exchange of energy." The space shuttle stores up tremendous kinetic energy when it blasts off and circles the globe. It must dissipate that energy to slow down enough to return to Earth.

In essence, speed is exchanged for heat. The orbiter begins to make sweeping S-turns as it enters the atmosphere. At the moment of maximum friction, the temperature around the orbiter is 3,000 degrees. To reflect the heat and protect its metal frame, the shuttle has about 20,000 hand-laid tiles on its nose and underside. These ceramic tiles are light—like a piece of Styrofoam—but they are rock-hard. As the shuttle enters the atmosphere, it must be at just the right attitude, or angle of attack. The nose is tilted up sharply. If the orbiter pitches forward or jerks sideways, the metal will start melting and the airframe will come apart.

The Columbia's two-minute, 38-second "de-orbit burn"—firing its rockets to brake its initial descent—went off right on schedule at 8:15 a.m., ET. At the time, the shuttle was flying upside down and backward, its tail pointed in the direction of travel, some 175 miles above the Indian Ocean, just west of Australia. Its onboard computers began

EB IMAGE FROM NASA, DR. SCOTT LIEBERMAN—TYLER MORNING TELEGRAPH-AP, NATIONAL WEATHER SERVICE, COTT ANDREWS, NASA-TV—GETTY IMAGES, (2), NASA, NO CREDIT

NOW MISSION CONTROL WAS GETTING ANXIOUS. TOO MANY SENSORS WERE ON THE FRITZ. AS ONE NASA OFFICIAL GLOOMILY DESCRIBED THE ATMOSPHERE: 'THE TEAM WAS BEGINNING TO KNOW WE HAD A BAD DAY.'

A NATION MOURNS: Shuttle landings have become a common spectator sport. In Florida on Saturday, anticipation turned to horror for onlookers.

to swing the orbiter around into its nose-up position. At 8:44 a.m., the orbiter began what is known as "entry interface." The protective tiles on the belly glowed red-hot as the plane began to bounce off the upper fringes of the atmosphere.

At 8:46 a.m., ET, the Columbia made landfall in California. This was just about the time when Tony Beasley and his wife began noticing odd things happening to the shuttle as it raced across the heavens. Those flashes may have just been pulses of light from the "plasma," the glowing cocoon of superheated air that envelops the orbiter as it re-enters the atmosphere. Or the Beasleys may have been early witnesses to something going terribly wrong.

Inside the orbiter, and down at Mission Control, everything still seemed A-OK. The first sign that anything might be amiss did not come until 8:53. A sensor measuring temperatures on the left wing suddenly blinked out. By itself, this was not alarming. Sensors often cut out because of a minor malfunction. Mission Control did not even bother to inform the crew. Then at 8:56, the heat sensors in the left main tire well spiked up. A couple of minutes later, more sensors went out, this time in the body of the craft itself, along its left side. At 8:59, the temperature and tire-pressure gauges on the left side failed to register. By this time, Houston and the crew of Columbia were beginning to discuss the glitch. At 9 a.m., the Houston controller said, "Columbia, Houston, we see your tire-pressure messages and we did not copy your last."

Aboard the Columbia, the mission commander, Col. Rick Husband, said calmly, "Roger, buh ... "

Silence for several seconds.

Then static and some clicking.

By now Mission Control was getting anxious. In itself, the loss of communication was not entirely ominous. Spacecraft lose contact with ground control from time to time. But too many sensors—unconnected to any single source—were on the fritz. Chief flight director Milt Heflin later gloomily but laconically described the atmosphere in Mission Control: "The team was beginning to know we had a bad day."

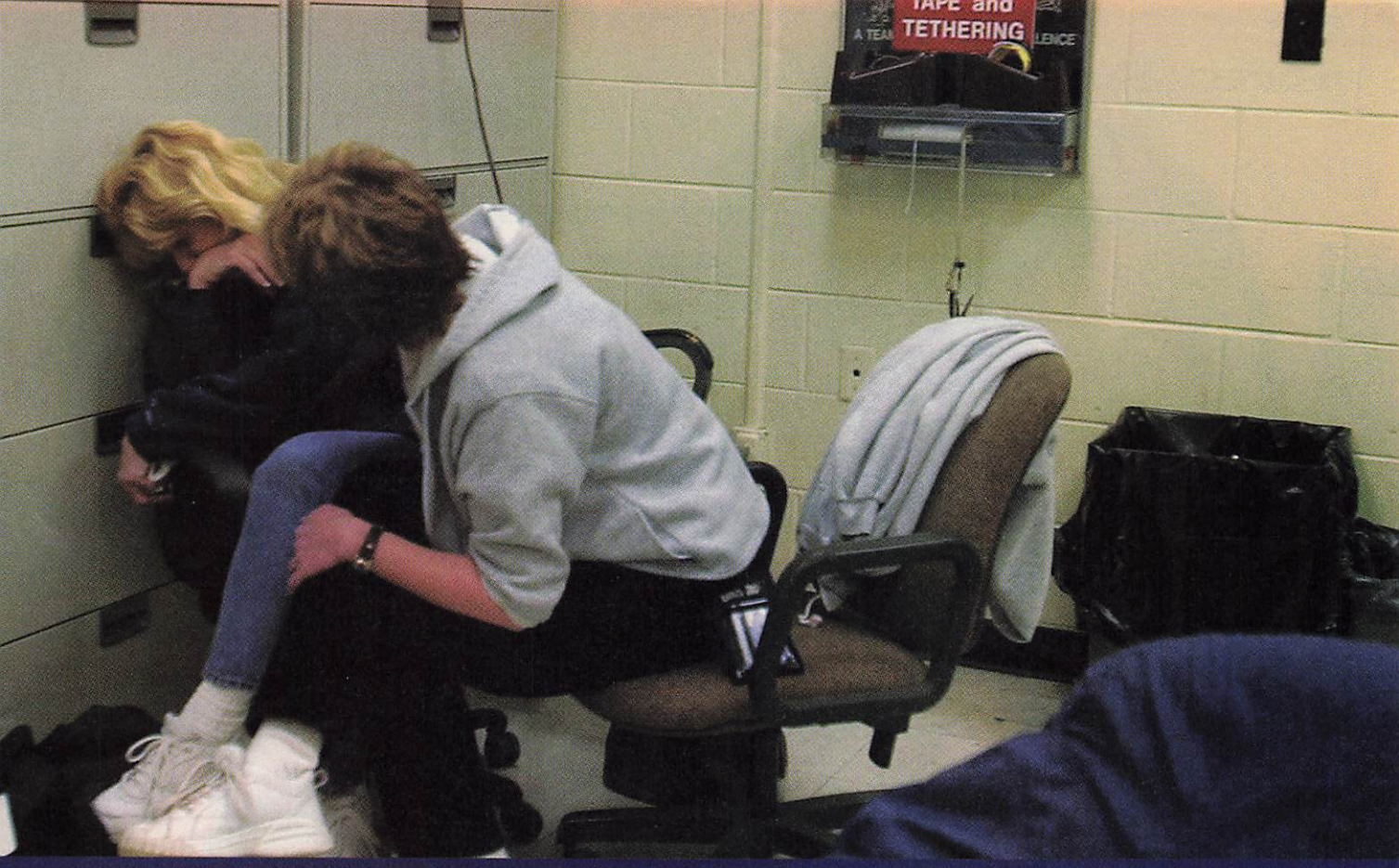
Some 200,000 feet above Texas, the astronauts were already dead, if they were lucky. When the Challenger blew up in 1986, the command module survived the initial blast. The astronauts inside survived a gruesome two-minute, 45-second ride to a watery grave in the Atlantic. Traveling at 18 times the speed of sound, the command module of the Columbia may have blown apart, instantly killing the crew. But judging from the TV camera shots of the spacecraft as it came apart in the Texas sky, a large chunk—possibly the command module—stayed intact for many seconds.

The debris of the Columbia landed in at least three states—Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana—and possibly a couple more. On one Texas field, wisps of gray smoke rose from a huge patch of blackened grass. Nacogdoches County reported some 1,000 pieces of debris—twisted metal, evil-looking shards still steaming with highly toxic propellants. There were tales of near misses—one piece supposedly plunged into an empty dentist's chair—but no deaths or injuries were reported in the first few hours after the disaster.

Early that morning, White House chief of staff Andy Card was flipping through TV channels in his cabin at Camp David. He heard the news and immediately called the White House Situation Room. Then he went to President Bush, who was about to begin his morning workout, to tell him that NASA had lost contact with the Columbia. In the post-9-11 age, the first thought on many minds was terrorism. Security had been especially tight for the Columbia because of the presence of the Israeli Air Force pilot who had bombed Iraq. But Homeland Security officials quickly discounted the possibility that terrorists had destroyed a spacecraft 40 miles above the Earth.

Bush and the presidential entourage hurried back to Washington. Standing in the Oval Office, Bush called the stunned families of the astronauts, who had gath-

PHOTOGRAPH BY PRESTON MACK—ZUMA



GROUND CONTROL'S GRIEF: Workers at Florida's Kennedy Space Center comfort each other after realizing the shuttle has broken up in flight

ered around a speakerphone at the Kennedy Space Center. "I wish I was there to hug and to cry and to comfort you," he told them, according to a White House aide. By 2 p.m., Bush was on national TV somberly quoting Isaiah: "Lift your eyes and look to the heavens. Who created all these? He who brings out the starry hosts one by one and calls them each by name. Because of his great power and mighty strength, not one of them is missing." Bush went on: "The same Creator who names the stars also knows the names of the seven souls we mourn today."

A pair of grim NASA officials groped for answers to reporters' questions an hour later. Ron Dittemore, NASA's shuttle program manager, and chief flight director Heflin acknowledged that upon Columbia's launch, some insulation had torn free from the booster rocket and hit the left wing of the shuttle. The insulation was soft, and it didn't appear to do any harm. Cameras on the ground caught a puff of debris from the foam striking the leading edge of the wing. NASA experts, they said, considered the risk that the tiles on Columbia had been damaged, but rejected the possibility. It is possible, in hindsight, that the tiles were somehow weakened, but that the weaknesses were not exposed until the stress of re-entry. A small gap in the tiles could become larger. The tiles would peel away like a zipper opening.

But even if the tiles had been damaged on launch, the NASA officials pointed out, there is little that the space agency could have done to fix the problem. Spacewalking astronauts cannot go around the wing and patch missing tiles on the underside of the craft. NASA did not make a serious effort to look at Columbia's underbelly with a telescope or high-powered camera or a spy satellite. Had real damage been spotted, was there an escape plan? Could the Columbia have hooked up with the space station and the crew, in effect, abandon ship, to await rescue by another shuttle? Not possible, NASA officials told NEWSWEEK. The Columbia was not carrying the proper gear to dock with the space station.

The second-guessing will start soon enough. By Saturday night the whistle-blowers were already beginning to toot on the Internet and on the talking-head shows, claiming they had been predicting disaster for years. One San Diego professor held a press conference to assert that he had long raised alarms about the fragility of the tiles. Having been through the Challenger tragedy, NASA knows that the inquiries will be long and the scrutiny harsh. Indeed, NASA has already called for an independent commission.

It is entirely possible that neither faulty heat tiles nor the insulation breaking over the wing on launch had anything to do with the tragedy. NASA officials are hoping that the disaster was what they call a "one-off"—a one-time accident and not the result of some deeper structural flaw. The Challenger was brought down by faulty O-rings, a kind of giant plastic washer placed between the joints of the booster rocket. It took NASA two years to find and correct this structural flaw. No shuttle flew for 32 months.

The shuttle program cannot afford to wait that long. Three of the loneliest members of the human race have to be the crew of the International Space Station. Navy Capt. Kenneth D. Bowersox, mission commander; Los Alamos scientist Donald Pettit, and flight engineer Russian cosmonaut Nikolai Budarin—Expedition Crew Six—were expecting to be whisked back to Earth by the space shuttle Atlantis in March. With all shuttles grounded, they may be stranded. NASA says the space-station astronauts have enough food and provisions to hold out until June. But then they may have to climb into the Russian Soyuz "lifeboat" to make their escape, or possibly wait for the Russians to launch a rescue mission. Space is a perilous place. The fall of Columbia reminds us of those dangers—and of the bravery of the men and women who defy them.

With MARK HOSENBALL, STEVE TUTTLE, TAMARA LIPPER, T. TRENT GEGAX, MARK MILLER, SUZANNE SMALLEY, ANNE BELLI GESALMAN, LEIF STRICKLAND, JOSEPH CONTRERAS, JULIE SCELFO, DANIEL MCGINN, REBECCA SINDERBRAND, SUDIP MAZUMDAR, LINDA BUCKLEY, ADAM ROGERS and JAMIE RENO

PETER MUHLY—AFP

THE RIGHT

THE CREW: Pilots with Ph.D.s and soldiers who were scientists, the Columbia astronauts

HEAVENLY STARS: From left, Anderson, Brown, Ramon, Clark, Chawla, Husband, and McCool. Bush praised their 'daring and idealism.'

STUFF

were talented and tough. Portraits of the lost.

FOR 16 DAYS THEY WERE UP THERE, right above our heads—operating complex machinery, tending exotic experiments, pushing up against the boundaries of human experience. Yet how many of us took even a moment to marvel at Columbia's mission, or the men and women who bravely carried it out? Perhaps the greatest measure of

SCOTT ANDREWS

the space-shuttle program's success is the ease with which we have taken it for granted. Once, we gathered anxiously in front of our televisions to watch astronauts go into space. Now shuttles go up and come down, and the news sums it up, if at all, with a few seconds of footage before the commercial break.

On Saturday we were cruelly reminded, once again, that leaving Earth, though common, is still anything but commonplace. The seven members of Columbia's crew certainly had no illusions about the danger of their mission. At 11:39 last Tuesday morning, they gathered for a minute of silence in memory of the Challenger crew, who had died at that moment 17 years before. "They made the ultimate sacrifice, giving their lives and service to their country and for all mankind," eulogized flight commander Rick Husband.

The same can now be said for Husband and his comrades. Together, they embodied the shuttle program's ideal of the modern NASA astronaut. They were pilots with Ph.D.s, soldiers who were scientists. Men and women alike. Pilot William McCool sported the buzz-cut hair and fighter-jockey swagger of the "right stuff" days—but he also had advanced degrees in computer science and aeronautical engineering. Born in India, shuttle veteran Kalpana Chawla held a doctorate in aerospace engineering and had logged 6.5 million miles in space. Mission specialist David Brown was a fighter pilot and flight surgeon who worked his way through college riding unicycles in the circus. Ilan Ramon, the mission's payload specialist, was a seasoned combat pilot and the first Israeli in space.

They were an unusually tight group. Like all crews, they had trained in close proximity for years. Still, Husband was aware that four of his crew had never been to space, and that two hailed from different cultures. He wanted to find out early on if they could work together flawlessly, even under stress. In August 2001 he took them on an arduous 11-day camping trip in the mountains of Wyoming. There, they hiked for miles bearing 75-pound packs, suffered altitude sickness climbing 13,000-foot Wind River Peak, and lived side by side 24 hours a day. The group's guide, John Kanengieter, was amazed at the easy camaraderie, and the lack of egos. "It sounds clichéd," he says, "but they always put themselves behind the team." America will mourn the fallen team, but remember them as individuals.

LEARNING TO FLY: McCool (above) invited everyone he knew to the launch, Chawla (right) was on her second mission, Husband (below) was an egoless and spiritual leader

RICK HUSBAND, 45

COMMANDER

AMARILLO, TEXAS

RICK HUSBAND WAS A DEVOUT Christian, a man who wasn't embarrassed to discuss his faith on national TV. An Air Force colonel and the commander of the Columbia, he said one of the things he was most looking forward to about his second trip to space was learning more about Judaism from Ilan Ramon. Each astronaut was allowed to bring some personal effects on the mission; among the things Husband brought onboard were trinkets from Boys Ranch, a Christian home for at-risk kids located just outside his hometown of Amarillo, Texas.

He was also fiercely determined. He decided he was going to be an astronaut as a child; despite three rejections, he kept applying for the job. When he was finally chosen, he quickly rose to the top. He was the pilot on the first shuttle mission to dock with the International Space Station. Known as a phenomenal airman, he had flown more than 40 types of aircraft; colleagues said he exuded a quiet, almost egoless leadership. Soon after assembling his crew for the Columbia mission, Husband decided he wanted to make a very good crew into one of the best ever. He booked them on an 11-day outdoor survival trip, and in the years since the trip he's kept in touch with John Kanengieter, the trip's leader. While in space, he sent Kanengieter an e-mail: "He wrote, 'I'm so proud of my crew, I could pop.' He really talked like that."

Husband, who was married with two children, was also known to break spontaneously into song. He was active in his church choir, but also would sing impromptu parodies and grew up lending his rich baritone to barbershop quartets. But it was his faith that sustained him. "Rick was right with God," says Tammy Jernigan, who flew with Husband on his previous space trip. "He's in heaven now."

TOP TO BOTTOM: NASA—GETTY IMAGES, NASA—AFP, NASA—GETTY IMAGES

SNAPSHOTS: Clark (above) shows what a bad hair day looks like in space; (left, clockwise from top right) Ramon, Brown, Anderson and Chawla pose in a research module for a photo op during the mission

WILLIAM MCCOOL, 41

PILOT

SAN DIEGO

PEOPLE WHO KNEW THE MAN AT the controls of the Columbia felt more than lucky. "Everyone should meet a Willie McCool in their lifetime," says Al Cantello, his cross-country coach at Annapolis. It wasn't only the shuttle pilot's contagious smile, although that certainly played an important part. "He was an inspiration to be with," says his U.S. Naval Academy classmate Mark Patterson. "Nothing ever got him down." McCool was an Eagle Scout, captain of the cross-country team, second in his class at the Naval Academy, the test pilot entrusted with the Columbia's helm. "Whatever he decided to do, Willie did it to perfection," recalls Patterson. "When he decided he wanted to be an astronaut, you knew he'd make it."

Still, he was anything but arrogant. John Kanengieter met him when the seven astronauts attended an 11-day outdoor training session in Wyoming: "We were laughing the week before they got here, thinking, 'Jeez, this guy's an astronaut and his name is McCool—he must think he's Tom Cruise.' And he's the closest thing to Opie Taylor." For his first space flight, the Columbia mission, McCool invited as many old friends as he could to the launch. Cantello was there. "I was so proud," he told NEWSWEEK. "It's been 20 years since he graduated." It seemed as if McCool invited practically everyone he knew. "Years ago Willie went to Switzerland with five other midshipmen and stayed with a doctor," says Cantello. "He invited him to the launch. He invited the contractor on his house to the launch." The pilot's unfailing good humor and outgoing manner made it all the tougher for friends to comprehend the disaster. "Willie's one of those people you don't expect a tragedy like this to happen to," says Patterson. "He was blessed. And we were blessed to know him."

MICHAEL ANDERSON, 43

PAYLOAD COMMANDER

SPOKANE, WASH.

AS SCHOOLCHILDREN IN THE 1960s, Michael Anderson and his sister Brenda had bunk beds. On Saturday mornings the top bunk was their spaceship. "Let's go to the moon!" he would call down to her. He never quite reached the moon, but he got closer than most of us. After earning his B.S. in physics at the University of Washington ("I think I was the only African-American physics major at that university," he later recalled), he joined the Air Force and became a pilot. NASA chose him for its space program in 1994. "Michael's desire was to get into space, and he made it a reality," his mother told NEWSWEEK. "He was doing what he loved, and that's my consolation." Her son was basically the Columbia's science officer, responsible for all of the many experiments performed on the 16-day flight.

The Columbia mission was Anderson's second trip into space. His first was a 1998 Endeavor mission delivering scientific gear, water and crew to the Russians' accident-plagued Mir space platform. The visit left a powerful impression on him. He spoke afterward of how much he admired the Russians' determination in refusing to abandon the Mir, even after it suffered a near-disastrous fire in February 1997 and collided with a remote-controlled cargo

LEFT TO RIGHT: NASA—AFP, NASA—GETTY IMAGES

craft that June. Following that example is the only way humans can make it into space, Anderson argued. "We are going to have accidents. We are going to have things happen that we didn't plan on," he said. "If we're going to be serious about exploring space, then we're going to have to have the resolve that the Russians showed here."

KALPANA CHAWLA, 41

MISSION SPECIALIST

SEABROOK, TEXAS

KALPANA CHAWLA WAS IN CHARGE of more than a dozen experiments onboard the Columbia, but she was in love with the poetry of space travel as much as the science. "In the pre-sleep period, when you're looking out the window, you're floating," she said, describing her one previous trip in space. "The Nile River looks like a lifeline in the Sahara ... Earth is very beautiful. I wish everyone could see it."

Her dreams of space travel started early. As a rugged tomboy running around in jeans and old T shirts, she would lie in her family's courtyard on summer nights, staring into the sky and dreaming of the day when she could afford to own a telescope.

Chawla immigrated to America from India in the 1980s. After earning a degree in aerospace engineering from the University of Texas and an advanced degree from the University of Colorado, she was hired at NASA's Ames Research Center. In 1994 she was selected by NASA as an astronaut trainee, and on her first trip into space in 1997 she traveled more than 6.5 million miles. But she never forgot the kids back home. Since 1998 she and her husband had sponsored students from the school where she studied as a child.

They never forgot her, either. On Saturday night in Karnal, India, a celebration was planned at her old school to watch the Columbia land. One student stood stunned, tears running down her cheeks, clutching autographed pictures of Chawla and the other Columbia astronauts. "She told us to dream," the student said. "She loved us so much."

DAVID BROWN, 46

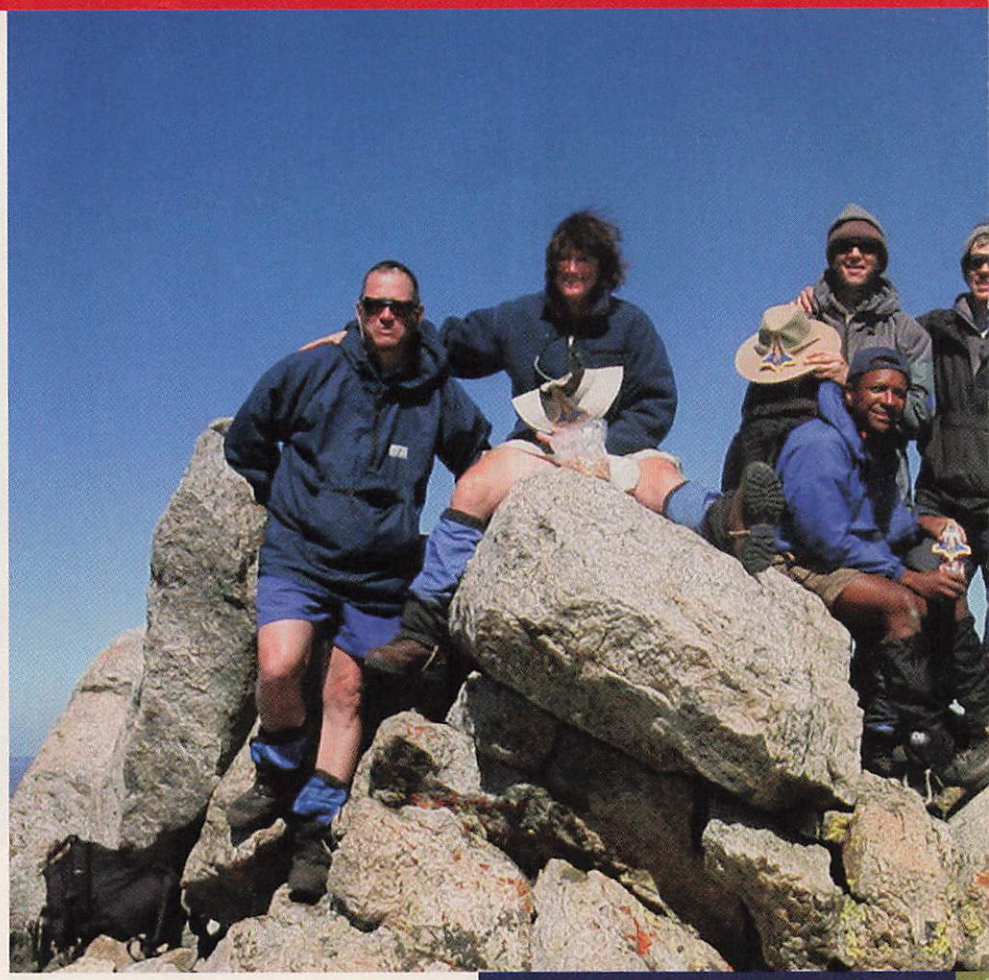
MISSION SPECIALIST

ARLINGTON, VA.

BY THE TIME DAVID BROWN WAS 6 years old, he was already paging through Reader's Digest. "He was always so curious," his mother, Dorothy Brown, remembered. Athletic and tender at the same time—he used to make his mom tapes of his favorite music, stuff like Enya and Simon & Garfunkel—Brown was a star gymnast on the parallel bars at Yorktown High School and went on to make the varsity team at The College of William & Mary. After college he joined the circus on a lark, working as an acrobat, tumbler, stilt walker and seven-foot-unicycle rider.

After the circus, he went to Eastern Virginia Medical School, and immediately after his internship he joined the Navy. In 1988 he was tapped to train as a pilot, a rare honor for a doctor, and he graduated at the top of his aviation class. Soon he achieved his ultimate dream. In 1996 he became an astronaut. "When David was young, he would say that being an astronaut was too much to even dream for," his mom said. "But the flying thing got him. He was great. He could land on ships in the middle of the night. Flying was his life. He even lived on Airline Drive."

This was Brown's first trip into space, and he was serving as the Columbia's unofficial archivist—during the multiple years the crew trained together, through a bike trip in Europe and a backpacking trip in Wyoming, he brought along a personal video recorder. As John Kanengieter, the backpacking trip's leader, said, "When I was watching the launch and the shuttle doors were closing, I could see the video camera there. That was David. He never stopped."



ON TOP OF THE WORLD: Husband (third from right) insisted on bringing his entire crew on an 11-day backpacking trip. Ramon and his wife (right) in Houston.

LAUREL CLARK, 41

MISSION SPECIALIST

RACINE, WIS.

AS THRILLED AS HE WAS TO ATTEND the launch, 8-year-old Iain Clark didn't want his mother going into space. "He wanted to know why Daddy couldn't go up in space instead of Mommy," says Laurel Clark's old schoolmate Matthew Solberg. The fact is, she never set out to be an astronaut. She wanted to be a pediatrician. But she came from a family of nine children and stepchildren, and medical school was expensive. She joined the Navy "purely for financial reasons," she later recalled; it was the only way she could think of to pay the bills. After earning her M.D., she served a tour as an undersea medical officer. She was about to begin training as a flight surgeon when she applied to NASA, almost on a whim but with her husband's encouragement. When they didn't accept her on the first pass, she applied again—and this time she made it.

LEFT TO RIGHT: JOHN KANENGIETER—NOLS, JONATHAN TORGOVNIK, ROBI CASTRO—REUTERS

Her responsibility aboard the Columbia was medical and biological research. In particular she was investigating such topics as gene transfer in plants (which for some reason seems to work better in space) and the way bones lose their calcium in free fall. She took a personal interest in the latter question; osteoporosis ran in the family. Shortly before she died, she sent an e-mail to close friends and relatives. "Viewing Earth from space is spectacular," she wrote. "I feel blessed to be here."

Before the mission, members of the local media in Madison, Wis., asked what advice she would give to an aspiring astronaut. "Do what it is you love to do," she said. "You'll do a really good job at it because you love it, and you'll be doing something that you love. Not everyone's in luck to be an astronaut." She loved many things. "Laurel loved nature, hiking and camping," her 38-year-old brother, Dan Salton, told NEWSWEEK. "She loved animals and people." She enjoyed scuba diving and parachuting. She had a special fondness for the mountains, and for Scotland, where her husband, Navy Capt. Jonathan B. Clark, proposed to her. She named her two cats Haggis and Neeps (Scottish for "turnips"). More than anything else, though, "she loved her son," says Salton. "He's the one we're all thinking of."

ILAN RAMON, 48

PAYLOAD SPECIALIST

ISRAEL

MONTHS BEFORE HE WAS TO become the first Israeli to travel into space, Ilan Ramon paid a visit to Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem. The Air Force colonel was searching for an appropriate object to take with him on the mission when museum curators showed him a tattered pencil drawing of the Earth as seen from the moon. The sketch had been done by Peter Ginz, a 16-year-old Jewish boy who died in Auschwitz in 1944. Ramon, whose own mother and grandmother survived Auschwitz and emigrated to Israel after World War II, was captivated. "I feel that my journey fulfills the dream of Peter Ginz 58 years later," he said just before carrying the fragment aboard the Columbia.

Ramon joined the space shuttle mission as a payload specialist, running an experiment that tracks dust particles from sandstorms. But it was the astronaut's role as a symbol, not a scientist, that inspired his war-fatigued and hero-starved countrymen. Television devoted endless hours and newspapers countless inches to his mission. FIRST HEBREW ASTRONAUT SINCE ELIJAH, trumpeted Israel's most popular newspaper, Yediot Achronot, referring to the Jewish prophet who, according to the Bible's Book of Kings, ascended to heaven aboard a fiery chariot. Kindergarten teachers instructed their kids to post newspaper photos of Ramon on the walls; a mattress manufacturer said he would name a line after him; the Israeli Postal Authority planned a commemorative stamp.

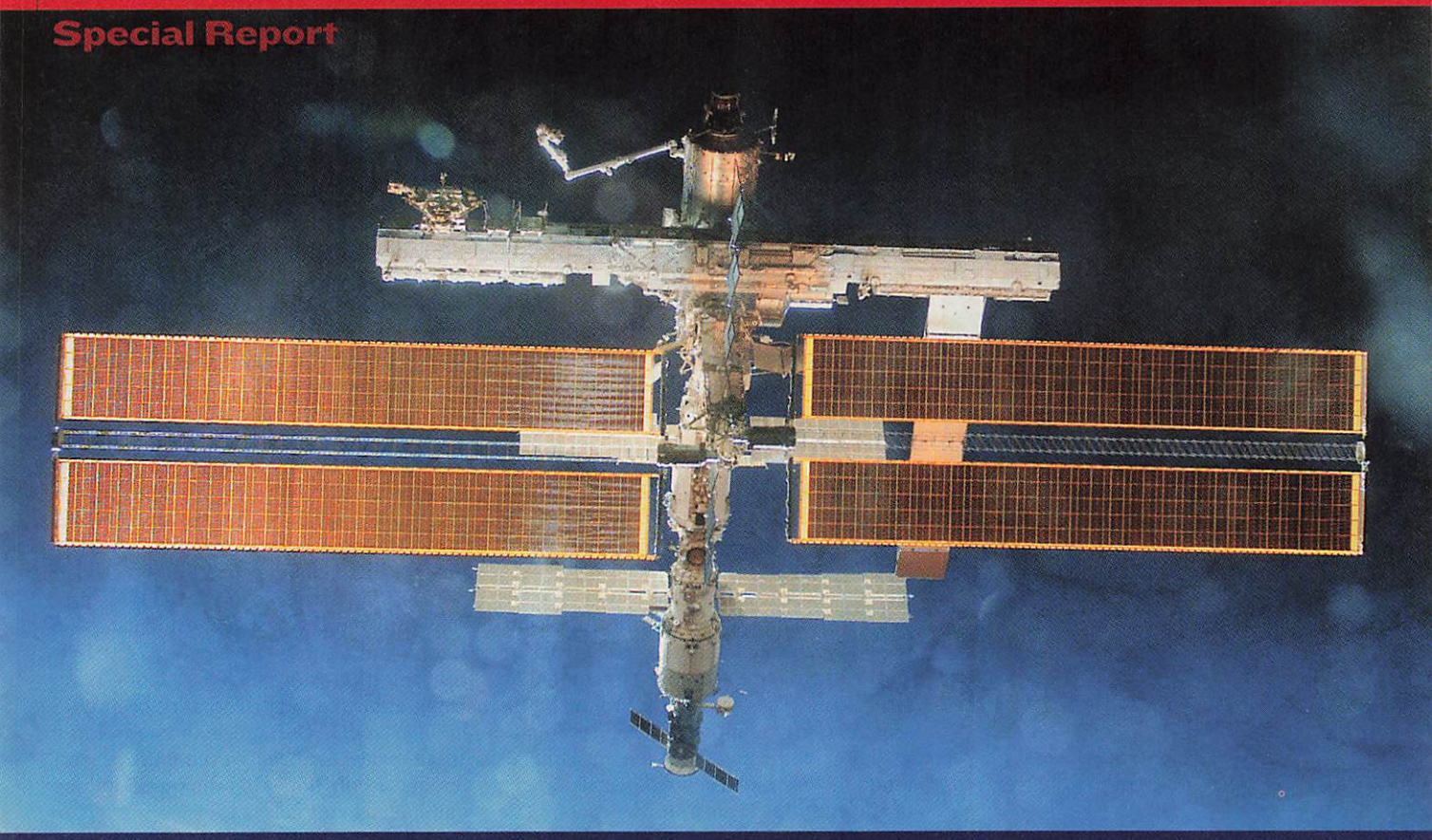
Born in Tel Aviv and raised in Beer Sheva, Ramon served with distinction as a fighter pilot in the 1973 Yom Kippur war. In 1981, he was one of eight F-16 pilots who bombed Iraq's unfinished Osirak nuclear reactor, after flying for hours without detection over enemy territory. Ramon was tapped to become Israel's first astronaut in 1997. He moved to Houston with his wife and four kids, ranging from 5 to 15, and spent 4½ years in training.

Although he was a self-described secular Jew, Ramon honored his heritage and religion aboard the flight. He asked NASA to provide him with kosher food, tried to observe the Sabbath on board and carried both a pocket-size version of the Bible presented to him by Israeli President Moshe Katzav and a Torah scroll given to him by a concentration-camp survivor. "From space, Israel appeared small and very beautiful," he declared. "The quiet that envelopes space makes the beauty even more powerful, and I only hope that the quiet can one day spread to my country."

A devoted family man, Ramon stayed in touch with his loved ones from space via e-mail. "Although everything here is incredible, I can't wait to see you. Big hugs and kisses to the children," he wrote his wife a couple of nights before his death. Ramon's father, Eliezer Wolferman, was reading some of those messages live on Israeli TV when NASA lost contact with the astronauts. Wolferman was taken to a side room to watch the broadcast off-air. Devastated, he left for Houston later that night to join Ramon's widow and children. "Ilan regarded this mission as something he could do for the world," Ramon's sister-in-law Orna Bar told NEWSWEEK. "But all that doesn't matter now because he's gone. We're all suffering terribly right now." It is a loss shared by millions of her countrymen.

HOMELAND HERO: Ramon's trip was a source of national pride for Israelis

Written by WESTON KOSOVA, SAM SEIBERT, SETH MNOOKIN and JOSHUA HAMMER
Reported by SUZANNE SMALLEY, ELIZABETH AUSTIN, DAN EPHRON, REBECCA SINDERBRAND, DANIEL MCGINN, DANIEL DORFMAN and SUDIP MAZUMDAR



LOST IN SPACE: A key role of the shuttle is to ferry astronauts to and from the International Space Station, last visited by the Endeavour in December

STILL REACHING FOR THE STARS

THE FUTURE: The second fatal flight in 17 years raises a complex question: what are we willing to pay for manned missions? The war over the next frontier.

BY JERRY ADLER

EVER RISE QUICKLY FROM THE couch to get something from the kitchen and suddenly feel dizzy?"—*From the "Space Research and You" Web page for NASA's STS-107 mission.*

Everyone has, which is probably why NASA chose that taxpayer-friendly example to introduce an experiment by Michael Delp of Texas A&M University on how weightlessness affects the blood vessels of rats. Delp's project was part of the Fundamental Rodent Experiments Supporting Health (FRESH) payload, which consisted of 13 rats housed in three Animal Enclosure Modules in the cargo bay of Columbia. There is no reason to question the scientific validity of this work, one of 80-plus experiments carried aboard the mission, and NASA believes the results could be important for astronauts spending long periods in orbit. What that means, though, is that this was space research done for the purpose of doing more space research. For years, backers of scientific work that happens not to involve spaceflight—noting the roughly $500 million cost of a shuttle mission—have questioned how much money should be expended on manned projects such as this. In the wake of last week's tragedy, the country was beginning to wonder: how many lives should be risked on it?

The answer is that more lives will indeed be risked, because America's space program is wedded to the space shuttle for the indefinite future. Constrained by budget problems, NASA last fall put plans for a second-generation shuttle on hold, proposing instead to keep the current fleet in service until 2015. That schedule might have to be rethought now that the fleet is down to just three (Atlantis, Endeavour, Discovery)

NASA—AFP

GROUNDED: The Atlantis, one of three remaining space-shuttle vehicles, being readied for a March 1 launch. It could be months before it flies.

of the original five vehicles. But in the short run the shuttle has to keep flying no matter what, to bring people and gear to and from the International Space Station.

No one wants to see another shuttle flight take off until the problem that caused Saturday's disaster is identified and fixed. But no one knows how long that might take, either; the only precedent is the Challenger accident, which took 32 months to resolve. "There's going to be a certain amount of pressure to come up with the necessary fix quickly," says Rep. Dave Weldon, the Florida Republican whose district includes the Kennedy Space Center. "We have a station in orbit. We have a crew in the station. We can't just ground the fleet for two years."

But the tragedy is likely to bring on a long-overdue debate about the future of the manned space program, which has never recaptured the sense of mission that carried it to the moon more than 33 years ago. Over the years, projects—a manned flight to Mars, a permanent lunar base—have come and gone with nothing but empty budget lines to show for them. Still, the shuttle has kept flying. Its original function as a reusable platform for satellite launches was mostly abandoned after the Challenger explosion in 1986; the same vehicle in which astronauts trusted their lives was deemed too risky for a satellite whose function was to beam TV programs around the world. More and more, critics have suggested that the shuttle program was kept alive by NASA's political clout, by the old-flyboy network of test pilots and fighter jocks and, since 1993, by America's commitment to its foreign partners in the space-station project. The loss of Columbia, says John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University, "is a slap across the face that reminds us that this program has, aside from the costs, very significant risks. For the second time in 17 years we have had dramatic proof of those risks. Is it worth it?"

Many people still think it is, of course. Florida Sen. Bill Nelson—who as a congressman actually flew on Columbia in 1986, just weeks before the Challenger explosion—was quick to rally to one of his home state's major industries. "Americans are explorers and adventurers by nature," he said. "We never want to give that up." But the Bush administration seems less enamored of the romance of spaceflight, appointing a new administrator of NASA, Sean O'Keefe, whose last job was at the Office of Management and Budget; his predecessor, Dan Goldin, had a space background. One of O'Keefe's first targets was the soaring cost of the space station. In 2001 the United States unilaterally imposed a significant downsizing of the project (under the euphemism "core complete"), which meant cutting the final crew size from six to three

From Earth To the Skies

In NASA's 45 years, some have seen the heavens. Others have touched the face of God.

1962: JOHN GLENN IN SPACE The first American to orbit the Earth, he circles three times in five hours and becomes a national hero.

1967: FIRST DISASTER A fire caused by faulty wiring claims three astronauts' lives on the launch pad during a test.

1969: ONE GIANT LEAP The first manned spaceship to shoot for the moon arrives.

For a generation of TV viewers, the moonwalk becomes a cultural touchstone.

1970: APOLLO 13 After an oxygen tank explodes, the crippled craft returns home, its mission incomplete.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: NASA—GETTY IMAGES, NASA—AP, NASA—GETTY IMAGES, AP

FINAL COUNTDOWN: The Columbia's liftoff on Jan. 16; there will be no more shuttle launches until NASA determines what went wrong

and severely curtailing its scientific usefulness. And as spaceflight loses funding, it attracts fewer top engineers; a report by the General Accounting Office, released just days before the disaster, warned of an aging work force and a shrinking pipeline of talent. Michael Wiskerchen, associate director of the California Space Institute at the University of California, San Diego, and an old NASA hand, told NEWSWEEK that he suspects the Columbia disaster will eventually be traced back to NASA's "very serious human-capital problem. This has everything to do with money, and the time and schedule pressures on NASA, and the drive to privatize. This tragedy occurred at a time when NASA is being asked to drop people and hire even more outside contractors."

Even as many of the military's top pilots sacrifice their careers in the armed forces to go into the astronaut program, the defense establishment has largely lost interest in manned spaceflight. The need for "space control" is often heard in Pentagon corridors these days, especially in reference to the missile-defense system. But it doesn't mean sending troops there; anything the military wants to do in space can be done better by unmanned spy, communications and, potentially, armed satellites.

And it's not only the military that has grown disillusioned with manned spacecraft. Most space researchers believe that unmanned space vehicles, which can fly anywhere in the solar system, can accomplish more scientific research than any number of shuttle flights, or a space station confined to a low Earth orbit. NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory has four launches planned this year—including two Mars Rover missions and telescopes that will measure infrared and ultraviolet radiation—and even if they don't all work as planned, they won't cost anywhere near the $6.2 billion NASA had budgeted for human spaceflight. And it's certain that no one will die aboard them. As the nation looks ahead to an uncertain future, which holds the prospect of more than enough casualties here on Earth, that's something to think about.

With JOHN BARRY and DEBRA ROSENBERG in Washington and JAMIE RENO in San Diego

Newsweek MSNBC Jerry Adler hosts a Live Talk on the shuttle on Wednesday, Feb. 5, noon, ET, on Newsweek.MSNBC.com

1981: COLUMBIA RISES
NASA launches the first space shuttle. Even after 164 tiles are damaged at liftoff, it returns safely. It will fly 27 more missions.

1986: THE CHALLENGER
Millions watch as the ship bursts into flame just 73 seconds after liftoff, killing seven astronauts, including the first teacher in space. A leaky rocket is to blame.

1997: RED ROVER
The Pathfinder makes a rough landing on Mars. Its rover survives intact, sending the first images from the surface, but later attempts fail.

2000: HOME IN SPACE
The International Space Station's first crew moves in. Man's sole permanent presence in the heavens, the station is still under major construction.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: SCOTT ANDREWS, NASA TV—AP (2), BRUCE WEAVER—AP

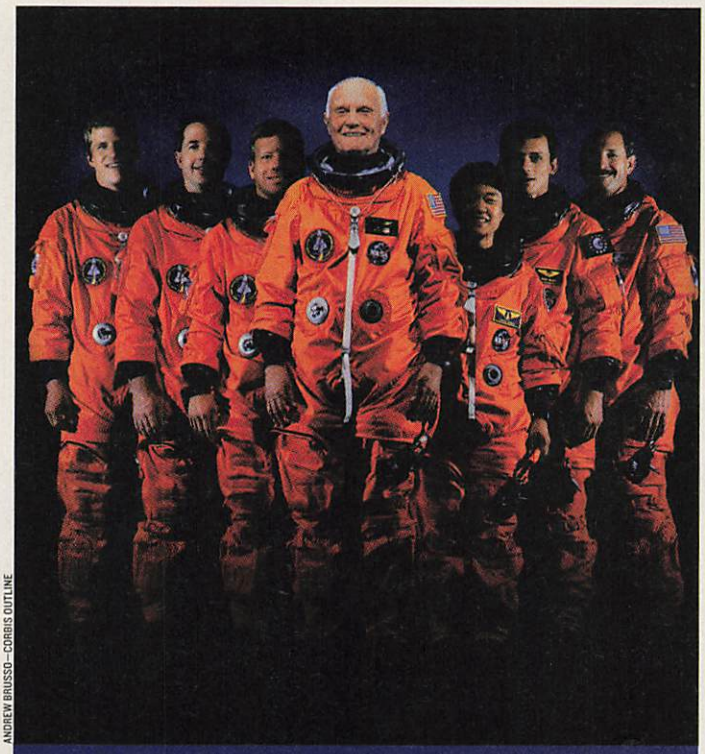
'PUNKIN SUIT' PRIDE

FIRST PERSON: What's it really like to re-enter Earth's atmosphere from space? A personal account from a man who's made the trip in two different generations.

BY JOHN GLENN

WE'VE GOT A NASA CHANNEL ON OUR CABLE TV here at home, and we were going to watch the landing. Suddenly, everything went off the air and they said they had lost all signal. I knew we had deep problems. Back in the old days, it was normal to lose contact for about four minutes during the highest heat of re-entry, but the blackout period now is less. I turned to my wife, Annie, and said, "This is big-time trouble."

We've never had a disaster on re-entry before. The launch has always been more worrisome because you've got thousands of tons of fuel ready to blow up if something goes wrong, so that's always looked at as a time of more hazard than any other. But re-entry is a big transition from all that speed back down to the ground. You put your pressure suit on and you have your visors closed so if there's any loss of pressure, you will be protected within your suit. Everybody calls it the pumpkin suit because of its orange color. I give it the Ohio pronunciation—the "punkin" suit.



ANDREW BRUSSO—CORBIS OUTLINE

PRESSURE AND SHOULDER STRAPS: Glenn, who first orbited the Earth in 1962, with the crew he joined aboard Discovery in 1998

At this point in the flight, you're back in your seat, strapped in—shoulder straps, seat belt, the whole bit. You have some back and forth on the intercom, but there's not much conversation because you don't want to interfere with what the flight commander or the pilot may be receiving in the way of instructions from the ground. And they may have instructions for the crew, so you don't say much during re-entry. This is a time period where the flight commander and the pilot who are up on the flight deck are running the flight, and the rest of us are just riding through it.

In re-entry, you fire the retrorockets to slow down, and then gravity starts easing you back down toward Earth. When you come into the upper part of the atmosphere, you hit all this friction because you're going so fast—five miles per second—and that decelerates you. On Saturday's flight, they were coming back into the atmosphere at about 200,000 feet. They'd lost a third of their orbital speed; they were down to about 12,000 miles an hour, according to reports.

At this point, who knows what happened? I have no idea.

I would say this, though: I think NASA will be able to pin this together pretty well, because they have hundreds—maybe even several thousand—telemetry channels, which are radio signals of everything onboard. All that information is being sent down to the ground all the time. That's what the people are monitoring in the control center. So they'll have a complete record, and I think they'll be able to define on a timeline what failed first, and where the problem started.

I know this tragedy is all very negative, but it's amazing we've come this far with this many manned flights. Out of more than 150 flights, we've only had two failures in space that lost life. That doesn't make it any less terrible for the people involved or less terrible now, but I don't think this should end the program or anything like that. We're learning too much that will benefit mankind.

The first time I went up in space, I had two things happen. One, the automatic control system went out and I had to control the spacecraft manually. And the second thing was a signal that came down to two ground stations that the heat shield was loose. So NASA decided that instead of firing the retrorocket pack that slows you down up there, and throwing it away in space and re-entering with a clean heat shield, I would re-enter with the retrorocket pack strapped onto the body of the spacecraft. The theory was that it would hold the heat shield in place. So I made a very spectacular re-entry because that retro pack was burning off during re-entry and there were big flaming chunks of it flying past the window. I couldn't be certain whether it was the heat shield or the retro pack. All I could do was keep on working, as I did all the way through.

Whether the crew of this flight had any warning, it's hard to tell until we know more about what happened. But I imagine they kept on working.

Former Ohio senator John Glenn was the first American to orbit the Earth, piloting the Friendship 7 spacecraft in 1962. In 1998, at the age of 77, he went into space again as a member of the space shuttle Discovery crew.

TODAY

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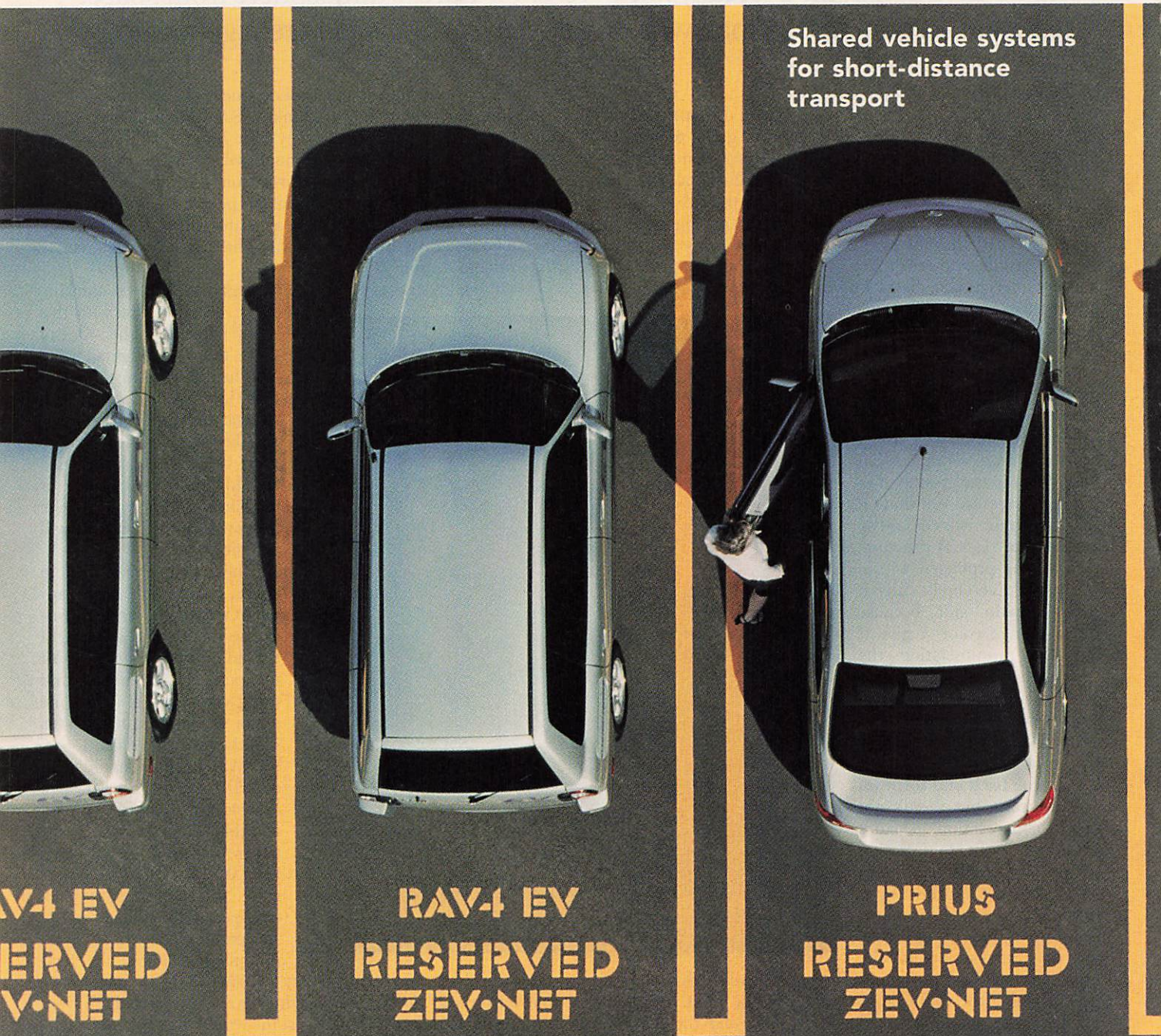

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TOMORROW

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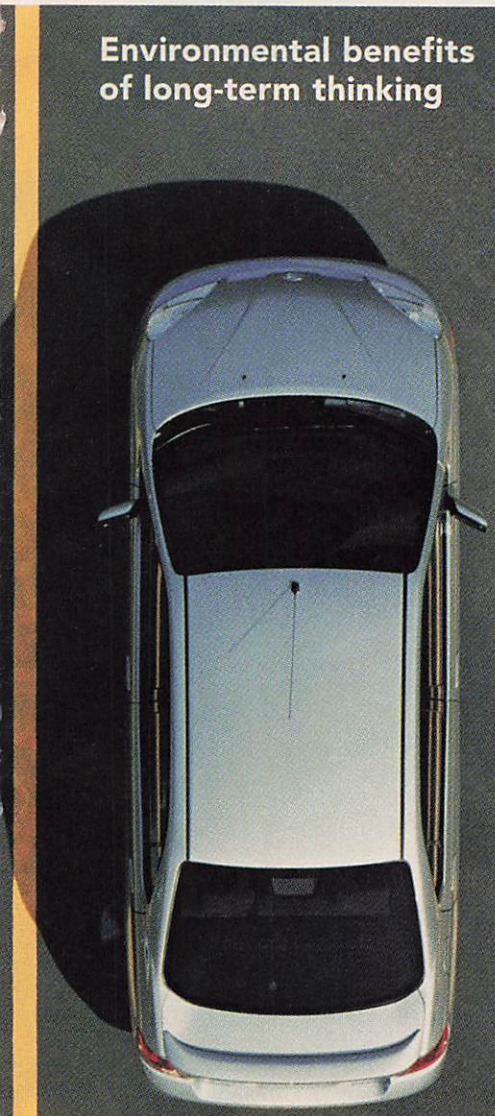
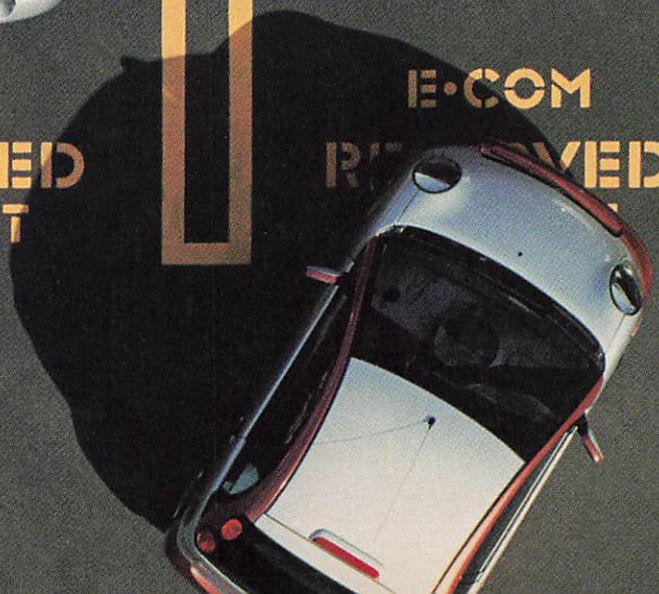
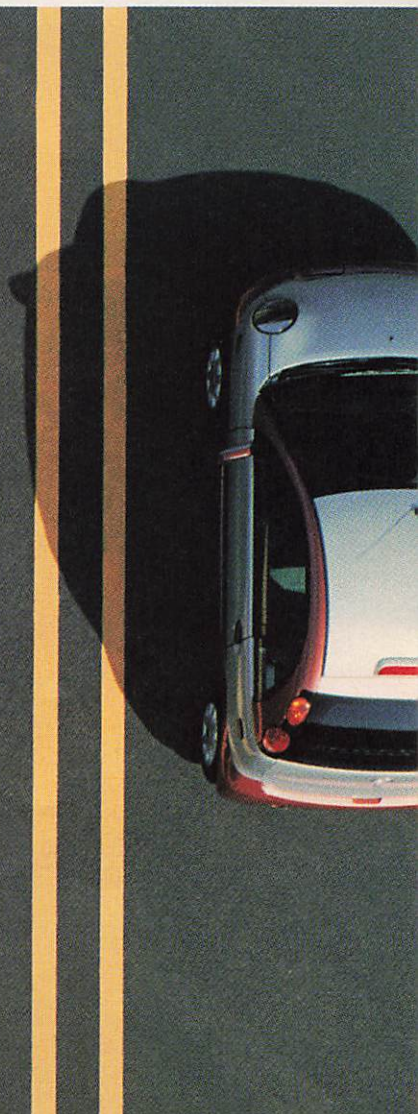
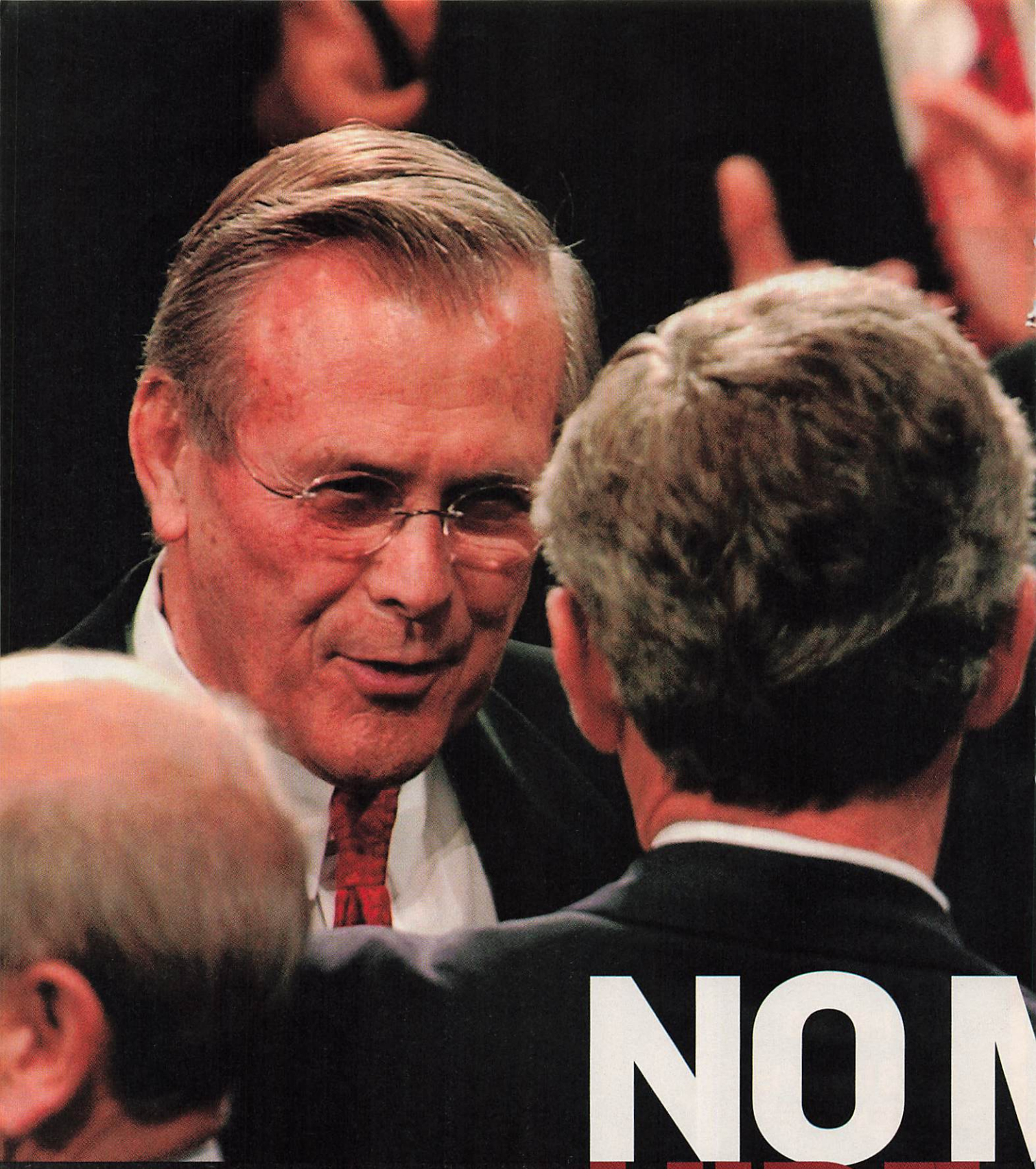








NO M
HIDE

Armed with secret new intelligence, including NSA intercepts, America takes the case against Saddam to the world

MORE & SEEK

BY MICHAEL HIRSH AND MICHAEL ISIKOFF

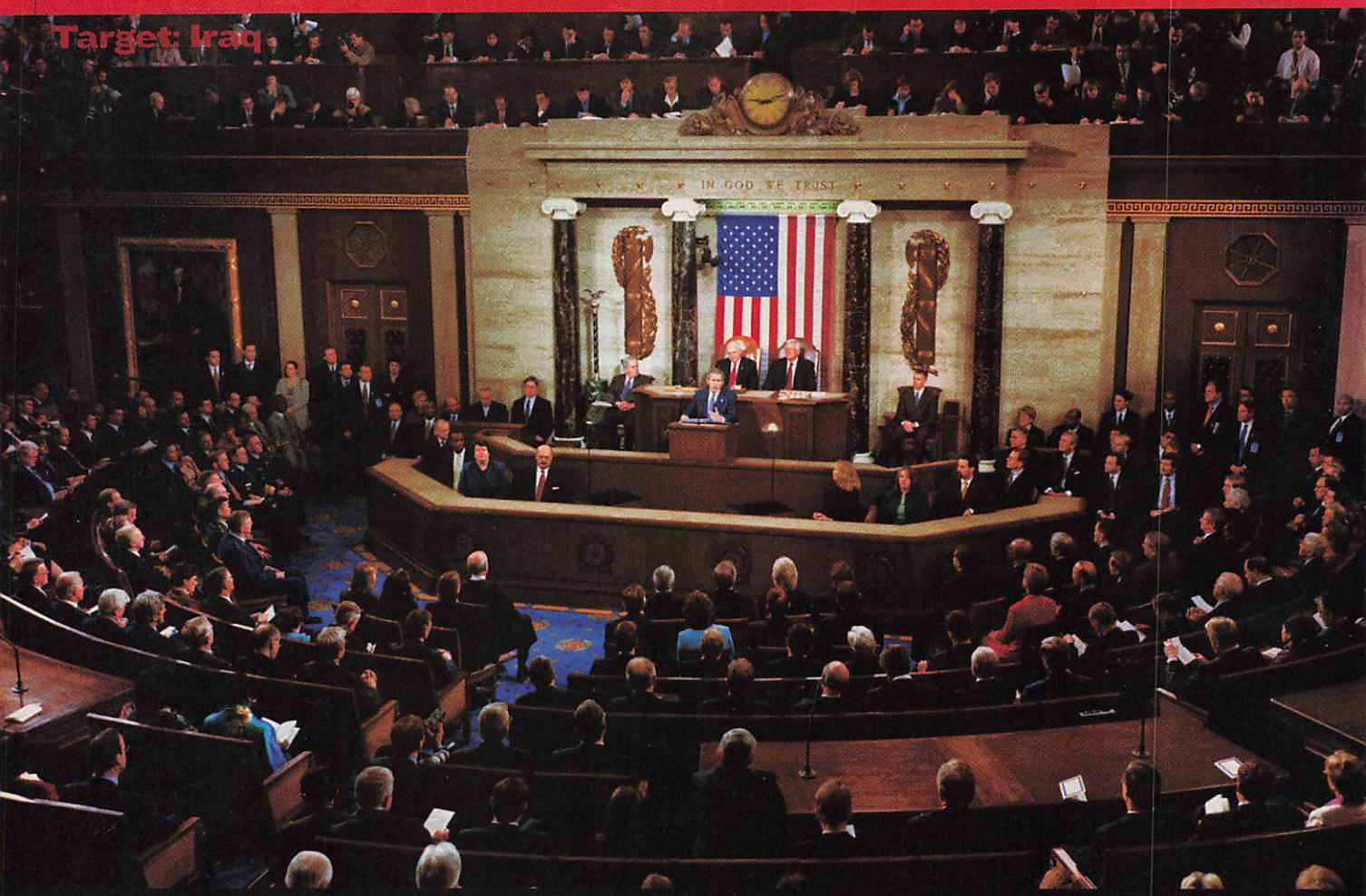
ONLY NIXON COULD GO TO China. And maybe only Colin Powell can persuade the world of the wisdom of invading Iraq. It sometimes takes a hawk to make peace, and a dove to deliver the best case for war. The secretary of state, long seen as the Bush administration's house moderate, will offer the most compelling indictment yet against Saddam Hussein before the U.N. Security Council this week, in what could be the most dramatic moment of Powell's tenure.

Recognizing the stakes, the secretary is going in armed—at his own insistence—with new evidence that includes super-secret intercepts of conversations showing clear deception by Iraqi officials, NEWSWEEK has learned. One intelligence official said it amounts to the most significant release of such sensitive information since Ronald Reagan revealed intercepts linking Libyan leader Muammar Kaddafi to the 1986 La Belle disco bombing in West Berlin.

WAR TALK: Powell and Rumsfeld with President Bush after the State of the Union

The just-declassified transcripts are the centerpiece of a U.S. effort to put before the court of world opinion a compelling "narrative" of Saddam's obstruction of inspectors, attempts to buy weapons materials and links to terrorists. These overheard conversations will demonstrate that Iraqi officials have repeatedly lied to the United Nations, plotted among themselves about how to conceal weapons material and appeared to boast afterward at their success in doing so, intelligence officials said. "They're saying things like, 'Move that,' 'Don't be reporting that' and 'Ha! Can you believe they missed that'," one official said. "It's that kind of stuff."

TOM WILLIAMS—ROLL CALL



SELLING POINTS: Bush demanded action on Iraq before the Congress; Powell faces a tougher crowd at the United Nations

Powell's fresh intel comes courtesy of the shadowy National Security Agency, which uses a vast network of satellites, surveillance planes and other devices to monitor phones, radio transmissions and other communications around the world. Such "signals intelligence" is almost never disclosed because it can tip off enemies to specific circuits and frequencies that the United States is monitoring.

The decision to declassify it came only after an intense debate inside the administration, which realized it needed far more hard information to win over Security Council members. That was a point driven home last week even by British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Bush's most stalwart ally, who pressed for a second U.N. resolution authorizing war (Bush resisted). The White House is "extraordinarily interested in seeing that there isn't another speed bump at the Security Council," says one U.S. official privy to the discussions between Powell and his policy-planning chief Richard Haass, who first proposed holding the special Security Council session on Feb. 5. Bush's aides say the president decided, just a few days before last week's State of the Union address, that Powell should go to the United Nations. Indeed, perhaps the surest sign to date that Bush intends to attack Iraq is that his administration agreed to expose its surveillance methods to the Iraqis by declassifying the NSA intercepts, one intelligence analyst said.

Rap Sheet

Last week, President Bush accused Iraq of misleading U.N. inspection teams to protect a secret weapons program. Among his allegations:

- Iraq has mobile biological-weapons labs and materials to produce sarin, mustard and VX agent.
- Iraq has not accounted for chemical warheads or materials to produce anthrax and botulinim.
- Saddam is protecting terrorists, including members of Al Qaeda.

Bush officials insist the evidence will nail down a nearly open-and-shut case showing "an active pattern of defiance" by Saddam in direct violation of U.N. Resolution 1441, which requires Iraq to fully cooperate in declaring and relinquishing its weapons of mass destruction. "Hold on to your hat. We've got it," said one U.S. intelligence official familiar with the NSA data. Powell is also expected to cite evidence that Iraq has mobile bioweapons labs and small unmanned vehicles that could be used for such purposes, as well as allegations by defectors that Iraqis have talked about their intentions to use dangerous substances such as ricin, biotoxins and anthrax. And he will point to as many as 25,000 liters of anthrax that, by some calculations, may remain unaccounted for from gulf war days. What will it add up to? One Bush official says: "While they don't want the public to expect an Adlai Stevenson moment"—referring to the much-cited presentation of photos during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis—"they would be very happy if it turns out to be one."

But as America heads toward what looks like a countdown to war in March, Powell still has his work cut out for him. He needs to win over skeptics like France, Russia and China, each of which wields a Security Council veto and may challenge even the NSA intercepts. U.S. officials admit it is not entirely clear what the Iraqis are referring to

PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

STALWART ALLY: British P.M. Tony Blair backs Washington, but also wants a new U.N. resolution authorizing war

in some of the conversations: part of the material being concealed may be precursors to building weapons, or even documents and computer disks, rather than actual chemical or biological weapons. The transcripts show "deception," said another official briefed on the evidence. "But does that make the case that you have to go to war?" Some intelligence officials believe, in fact, that much of what Saddam may be trying to conceal these days are "cookbooks" from his weapons of mass destruction programs: blueprints and technical data. An expert on Iraq's deception program says some of the evidence, including vehicles running out back with documents when the inspectors come in the front, "is stuff about Saddam Hussein's [personal] security."

Above all, the administration needs to counter the widespread belief that its case, at best, has been mainly circumstantial. And as officials scrambled to pull Powell's case together, the effort touched off a fight inside the intelligence community last week, NEWSWEEK has learned. The CIA said it could not confirm some of the material that the most hawkish Pentagon officials insisted would be killer points for Powell's presentation. (Much of it is provided by Iraqi defectors the Pentagon has decided to adopt, but who are considered unreliable by intelligence professionals.)

THE BUSH TEAM KNOWS IT needs to speak with one voice, not least because it is suffering from a credibility gap on Iraq. Last fall senior officials often asserted that, if America didn't take on Saddam, "the smoking gun" might be a "mushroom cloud." In recent months, however, the administration has drastically played down nuclear weapons as a threat, and chief U.N. nuclear inspector Mohamed El Baradei said last week he had found "no evidence that Iraq has revived its nuclear weapons program." Baradei and U.S. officials disagree over the significance of one key piece of information: an order of intercepted aluminum tubes discovered last year. The Bush team believes they are intended for uranium enrichment, but Baradei says they fit the exact specs of conventional rocket launchers, which Iraq is permitted to possess. Some U.S. officials now contend that Iraq purchased the tubes at "50 times or more the cost of a tube for a rocket launcher," a level of quality required for a nuclear program. But Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, appearing before a Senate committee last week, acknowledged there is a genuine difference of opinion about the purpose of the tubes, saying, "perhaps we miscalculated."

Powell may also have a tough time making the case that Iraq represents an imminent danger, requiring a decision to go to war within weeks, as Bush has promised. That's especially true as another member of the Bush Axis of Evil—North Korea—begins to look more worrisome, some national-security experts say. North Korea may recently have been moving fuel rods to begin making plutonium bombs, officials said last week. Yet some Bush hawks, even as they attempted again to play down North

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PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

Korea, said the dangerous escalation by its leader, Kim Jong Il, only makes war with Iraq more certain. "We've got to do Iraq," said one, "because if we don't, we're in the situation we're in with North Korea"—in other words, too late to deter proliferation.

Then there's the case linking Iraq to Al Qaeda and its terror campaign, which may be the most problematic. Vice President Cheney and others, for example, once made much of a supposed meeting in Prague between hijacker Muhammad Atta and an Iraqi official. But Bush, asked Friday about a 9-11 connection to Saddam, admitted, "I cannot make that claim." From terrorist detainees captured in Afghanistan and Pakistan, U.S. officials say they have reports of the Iraqi regime's training Qaeda terrorists before and after the 9-11 attacks. "We are talking about channels, contacts, communications," says one senior administration official. "We are not talking 9-11 or joint operational planning."

Yet the alleged Qaeda leader who may be exhibit A in the administration's case linking Saddam to the terror group seems to get more help from Iran than from Iraq, some intelligence officials tell NEWSWEEK. The suspect, Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi, is connected to the alleged activities of an Islamist rebel group in northern Iraq called Ansar al-Islam. Last summer, U.S. intelligence sources say, Zarqawi traveled to Baghdad, where a leg injured in Afghan fighting was amputated and he was fitted with a prosthesis. But according to German police documents obtained by NEWSWEEK, Zarqawi in the past has worked out of Afghanistan and more recently has been based in Iran. Until late last week, there were bitter fights within the administration over these links.

Still, some Iraq experts say the fact that all the evidence hasn't panned out is beside the point. Saddam has clearly shown he's trying to build WMD. "My nostrils are choked by a dozen years of smoking guns," says Terry Taylor, a former U.N. inspector in Iraq. "There's a mountain of evidence." The real test will be making the political, not the legal, case to the United Nations, he says. Or as one administration official puts it: "It's hard to convince people who don't want to be convinced."

Powell, knowing his personal prestige is on the line (as he persuaded Bush to go to the United Nations to begin with), is making sure he comes armed with the best of the evidence. Associates say the secretary is confident, telling one dinner partner recently that "we have a stronger case than many people realize." Now is his moment to make it.

With JOHN BARRY, MARK HOSENBALL, TAMARA LIPPER and RICHARD WOLFFE

SPIES, LIES & IRAQ

The access is spotty. The defectors double-deal. The spooks and the generals can't agree on whom to trust. No wonder it's so hard to figure out what Saddam is up to.

DISHING: Lampsos on TV

BY MARK HOSENBALL AND EVAN THOMAS

THE WOMAN CLAIMED TO BE SADDAM HUSSEIN'S former mistress. Last September, on ABC's "Primetime Thursday," she described the Iraqi strongman as a Viagra enthusiast who enjoyed listening to recordings of Frank Sinatra singing "Strangers in the Night," as well as to tapes of torture victims crying for mercy. Parisoula Lampsos, 54, a woman of Greek extraction who had lived in Baghdad most of her life, recounted watching Saddam preen in front of a mirror declaring, "I am Saddam. *Heil* Hitler!" She said that she had once seen Osama bin Laden at Saddam's palace, and that, in the mid-1990s, Saddam had given money to the Qaeda terror chief. She recounted that

FROM LEFT: ABC, JEROME DELAY—AP

IN THE DARK:
Suspicious containers at a phosphate complex

Saddam had confessed to her that he tried to murder his own son Uday. After visiting Uday in the hospital, where he was recovering from gunshot wounds, Saddam supposedly told her, "I didn't want it this way. I wanted him to die."

It was great TV. But was it good intelligence? At the Pentagon, the get-Saddam hard-liners thought so.

They spread word that the woman's story had largely checked out and boasted that Lampsos had passed a lie-detector test administered by the Defense Intelligence Agency. The Central Intelligence Agency, however, was dubious. Saddam had never before taken a mistress of European descent, the CIA analysts noted. If Saddam had wanted to kill Uday, he would have succeeded, they argued. There was no independent evidence that bin Laden had ever visited Baghdad. Lampsos could have put together the story she told ABC by reading old newspaper clips, said the CIA. And intelligence sources deny that she passed a CIA lie-detector test.

Whom to believe? President Bush must ask himself that question on a regular basis. His intelligence agencies often disagree on the most basic questions. At the Pentagon, a special intelligence-analysis unit set up by the hawkish Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz claims to have evidence showing that Saddam has ties to Al Qaeda and a vast and vigorous WMD program. Top spooks at the CIA, however, are skeptical. In not-for-attribution conversations, they routinely cast doubt on tips and analyses emanating from the Pentagon hard-liners. While the president seems to credit the dire scenarios presented by the hawks, he cannot just dismiss the cautions of the professionals at Langley, one of whom is his good buddy, CIA Director George Tenet.

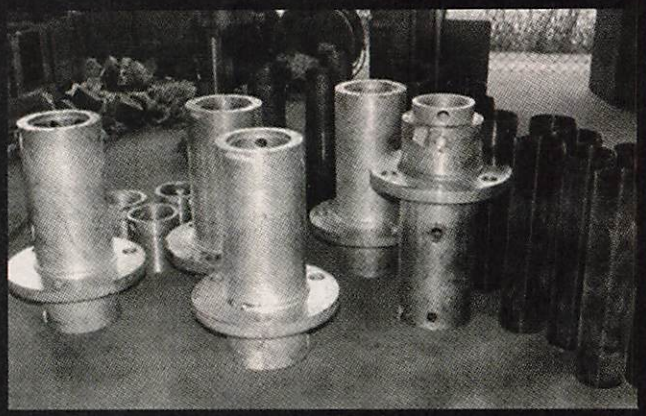
Intelligence is always, to some degree, a tricky guessing game. Dictatorial, repressive regimes are hard to penetrate. American spies in trench coats lurk in the palace shadows only in the movies. In real life, the

CIA has very little HUMINT (human intelligence) on the doings of Saddam Hussein—or Kim Jung Il or any other strongman with an effective secret police. Sometimes spy satellites or well-placed bugs and taps can overhear conversations, like the electronic intercepts that Colin Powell will trot out this week to show Iraqi officials trying to outfox U.N. inspectors. But Saddam is too clever to expose his most sensitive communications to American eavesdroppers. After the gulf war, Saddam contracted with the Chinese to construct an underground fiber-optic-cable communications network. "We're not getting much out of there," said a source familiar with U.S. intelligence-gathering in Iraq.

The American intelligence community must often rely on middlemen, usually defectors or exiles, to try to find out what's going on inside Saddam's regime. Historically, with a few noble exceptions, intelligence peddlers have been a pack of liars and swindlers. That was true during the cold war, when double and triple agents in spy Meccas like Berlin and Vienna sold made-up secrets to the highest bidder, and it has been especially true in the Middle East, where conspiracy is a way of life.

AN EYE ON IRAQ

Much of the time, our info about Iraq's weapons programs comes from dubious sources or after the fact. A look back at some leads from the past decade.



1990s: Aluminum parts used in a uranium centrifuge await destruction by weapons inspectors

1993: U.S. officials have debated the quality of intelligence provided by defector Hussein Kamel, later killed after returning to Iraq

1995: Records of what seemed to be germ-warfare tests were found hidden inside the Haidar chicken farm, southeast of Baghdad

The best-known purveyor of intelligence about Saddam's Iraq is Ahmed Chalabi. The head of a London-based exile group, the Iraqi National Congress, Chalabi is elegantly dressed, charming and well connected. One of his chief sponsors in Washington is Richard Perle, an influential hawk who is close to Wolfowitz and other Pentagon hard-liners. Perle's patronage may have helped Chalabi obtain audiences with Vice President Dick Cheney, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and national-security adviser Condoleezza Rice. Defectors presented to the Bush administration by Chalabi's INC have been a major source of intelligence about Saddam's alleged terror links and WMD programs.

CIA officials regard Chalabi as a snake-oil salesman. They point out that he is wanted for bank fraud in Jordan and that, according to a recent State Department audit, he could not account for about half the $4.3 million handed out to the INC by the State Department between 1999 and 2001. (When asked where the money went, the INC's reply was, "We subcontracted it out." To whom? "To Ahmed and Mohammed," was the answer.) Burned repeatedly in the past, the CIA is wary of intelligence that comes from defectors, who are often seeking visas, cash, revenge or all. "Defectors tell you 150 percent of what they know," says one CIA official. Iraqi defectors who offer themselves to the CIA are put through strenuous interrogations and lie-detector tests. The credible ones are given new identities and homes in America or Germany. The rejects are cast loose to fend for themselves. Some of them are nonetheless embraced by the INC—and, according to CIA officials, recycled to the more sympathetic (and more credulous) hawks in the Pentagon. Their stories are then worked over by Wolfowitz's special intelligence unit—and passed on to the White House. The CIA, in turn, is asked then to rule on the credibility of information provided by defectors the agency has already deemed to be incredible. No wonder the White House has struggled to sort out what can and cannot be believed.

The Pentagon hawks accuse their Langley colleagues of sour grapes. The source of the agency's dislike of Chalabi, they say, is rooted in a botched coup attempt, backed by the CIA, against Saddam in 1995. Saddam quickly rolled up the coup plotters and had them executed. Some intelligence officials suspect that Saddam set a trap. In any case, Chalabi let it be publicly known that he had warned the CIA, in advance, that the coup plot had been compromised; when it failed, he proclaimed, "I told you so." The CIA thereafter regarded Chalabi as a boastful meddler, according to Chalabi's friends at the Pentagon.

Another fraught source of intelligence about Saddam is the Kurdish community in northern Iraq. The CIA has a rocky relationship with the Kurds. Many Kurds curse the CIA for fomenting, then backing out of, various attempts to rise up against Baghdad over the past 40 years. Old CIA hands sneer at Kurdish tribal leaders for selling out to the highest bidder. When the CIA organized a rebellion against Saddam in 1996, one of the two Kurdish tribes leading the insurrection suddenly switched sides and attacked the other tribe. Washington quickly pulled the plug on the uprising.

Now, unsurprisingly, the CIA has little use for almost any intelligence emanating from the Kurds. The agency has acronyms for various types of intelligence, like HUMINT and ELINT (for electronic intelligence). At Langley, intelligence that is junk is jokingly called KURDINT. This stance is unfortunate, because the most intriguing stories about Saddam's ties to Al Qaeda come from Kurdish sources. A particularly virulent group of Islamicists, known as Ansar al-Islam, is holed up in Kurdish territory in northern Iraq. According to a variety of press reports, Ansar al-Islam provided sanctuary for Qaeda fighters fleeing Afghanistan after the Taliban fell. These terrorists have been brewing chemical and biological weapons, and are said to be un-

FROM TOP: IAEA, SIPA, U.N.

der the control and direction of Saddam in Baghdad. At least that is the version peddled by Kurdish sources and credited by the Pentagon hard-liners and some of their allies in the press.

The CIA as well as British intelligence have their doubts. Saddam is probably spying on Ansar al-Islam, they say, but the Iraqi strongman regards the group as more of a threat than an ally. There is no evidence, intelligence sources say, to back speculation that Saddam has provided Al Qaeda or any other terrorist group with biochem weapons through his alleged moles in Ansar al-Islam.

Lacking its own well-established network of spies, the CIA often turns to Arab intelligence services for help. With the agency scrambling to confront Al Qaeda, millions of dollars have been flowing out of Langley to improve what the spooks call "liaison relationships" with the security services of allies like Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan and even former foes like Libya and Syria. Qaeda suspects seized by the United States are sometimes turned over to these services for questioning. The Arab services say that torture is usually counterproductive, but their interrogation techniques can be stressful. The prisoner will be told that he will never see his family again, or kept awake for days at a time.

The Arab intelligence services have been spying on terrorist groups and each other for years. They are philosophical about the fact that their best agents are often also working for the other side. "I don't care if someone sells my enemy the same information he sells to me," says a Lebanese spymaster. "No. What he cannot do is sell my enemy my questions." Such Byzantine nuances make for good spy novels. But for a president trying to decide what to believe about a lethal foe on the eve of war, the complexities and uncertainties of the spy game are nothing but trouble.

With CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Amman and JOHN BARRY and ROY GUTMAN in Washington

BAGHDAD

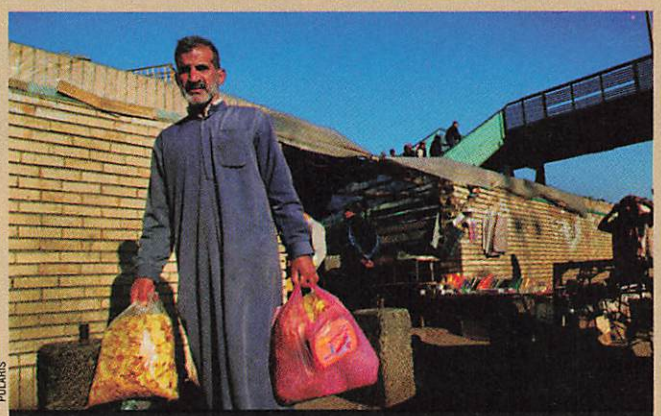
Iraqis are stocking up on rice and flour. When they get an e-mail from U.S. intelligence, the smart move is to report it.

Psy-Ops and War Prep

BY MELINDA LIU

Dr. Muthafar Adhami, a prominent Iraqi academic, was watching TV at home not long ago when his 14-year-old son Farad suddenly stopped surfing the Internet and said, "Daddy, come see this." Adhami had received an unusual e-mail titled "Important Information," transmitted by U.S. psy-ops specialists. It warned Iraqis to "protect their families" by reporting any information about weapons of mass destruction to U.N. inspectors—or face "grave personal consequences." The e-mail also urged Iraqis to sabotage any WMD they know about—or at least to ignore any orders to use them.

Is President George W. Bush's message getting through to the Iraqi people? Adhami told NEWSWEEK—in the presence of a government-assigned "escort"—that the e-mail's message "was so funny it made me laugh. If any other country had sent a similar e-mail to Americans, they wouldn't accept it either." Given that Baghdad has a formidable secret-police apparatus, Adhami also did what any smart Iraqi would do: he reported the rogue e-mail to the authorities.



POLARIS

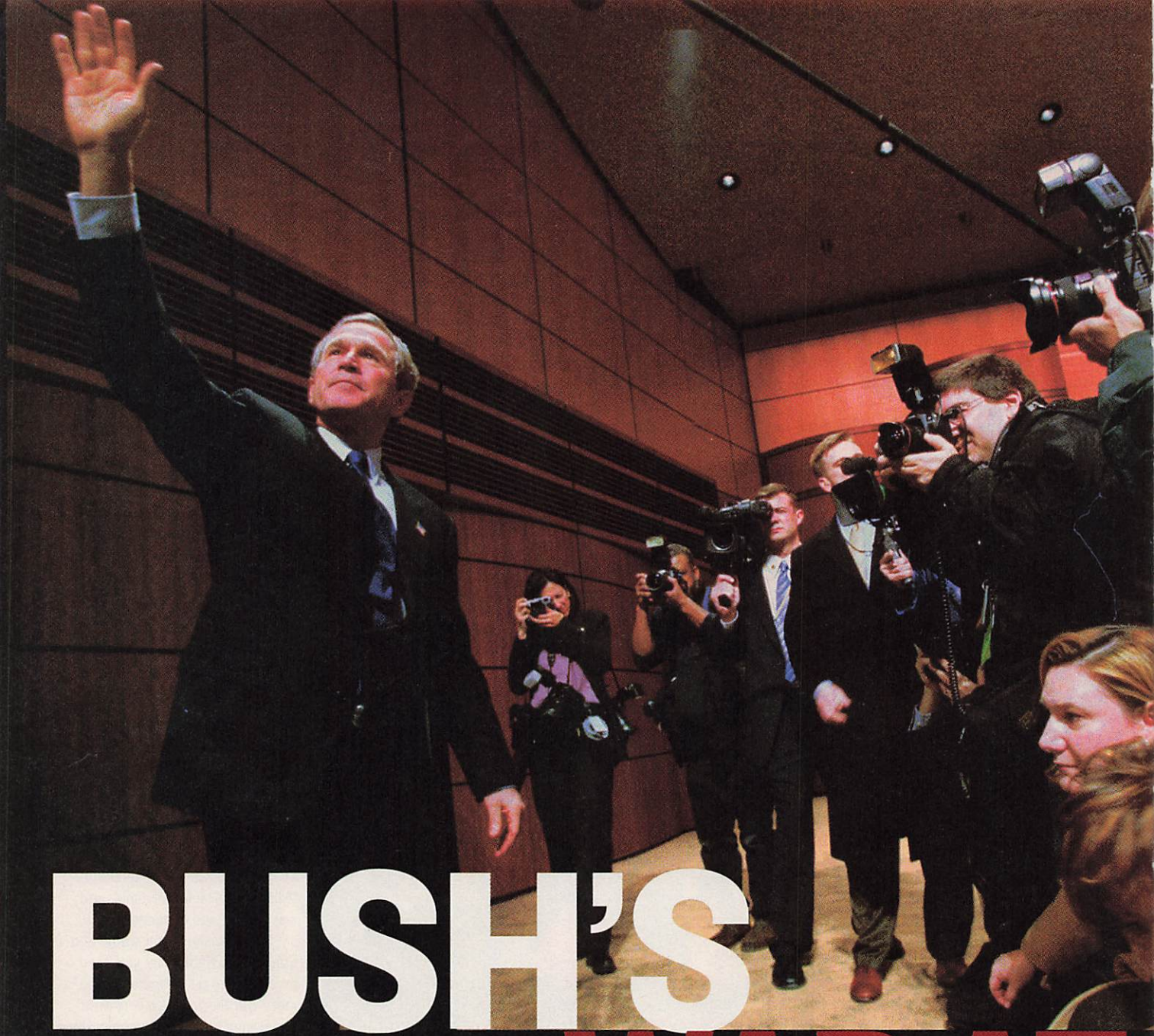
WAR-HARDENED: Getting extra food supplies

Yet he seemed aware that American and British warplanes had scattered thousands of leaflets across Iraq bearing similar messages, as well as instructions to tune into American military broadcasts transmitted from modified C-130 aircraft and stations outside the country.

For a population nearing the brink of war with the United States, Iraqis seem strangely calm. Baghdad residents often claim to "not care" whether hostilities erupt, to be "unconvinced" by American propaganda or to feel that "after 20 years of war, we're used to living with constant threats." Many, nevertheless, are preparing for conflict. The government is digging wells in the city, and many families have stockpiled five months' worth of staples such as rice, sugar, oil and flour. Hospitals are storing food and water, and trying to procure antibiotics, blood products, even bandages. Late last year personnel at the Ministry of Defense stopped wearing military uniforms. "They don't want to be targets when the war begins," says a Western diplomat in Baghdad.

At one of the oldest cafés in Baghdad last Friday, nearly 100 mostly elderly Iraqi men squeezed together on long blue benches under grimy ceiling fans and faded sepia photographs of turn-of-the-last-century Baghdad. "I love American films and books," volunteered a 68-year-old lawyer, meticulously attired in a tweed jacket, sweater and tie. When the conversation turned to politics—is he worried about a coming war?—his eyes darted furtively around the smoky room to see how many eavesdroppers were listening in. (At least two.) "Iraqis love the American people. We don't believe in hate," he said, as if that answered the question. "Maybe a miracle will come, and war will change to peace."

Some believe a war would end quickly. "To fight a war you need an enemy," says a Western diplomat. "But there will be very little resistance here. Most people will just go home and wait." In a quiet moment when no one else was listening, one Iraqi blurted out that "people are tired of the way things are and they want a change. Only the Americans can change things." Which may help explain some remarkable trends in Baghdad these days: the local stock exchange is booming, new shops have opened on the bustling commercial avenue near the old American Embassy and land prices have skyrocketed. "People anticipate things will get better," explains the diplomat. "After so many years of war and sanctions, people don't think they can get much worse."



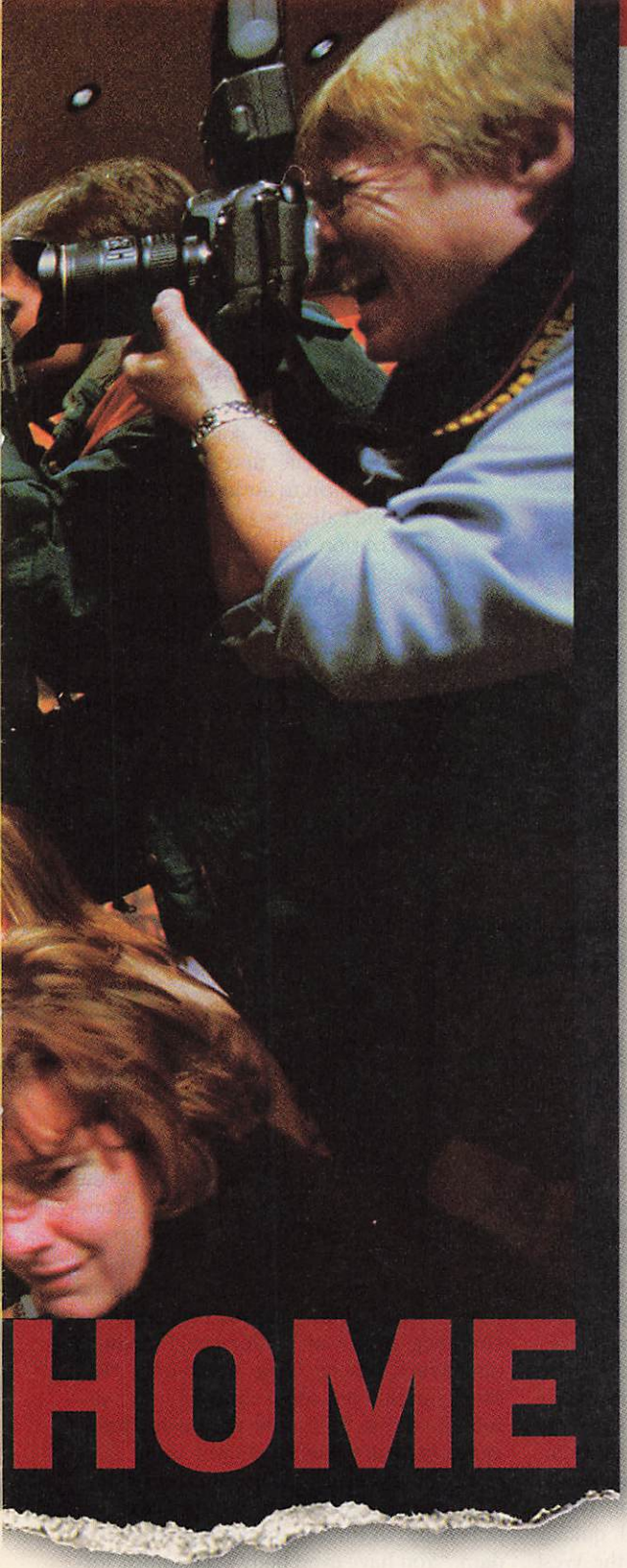
BUSH'S WAR AT

Defang Saddam, then spend the capital on the domestic agenda. Will the plan for avoiding 41's fate work?

BY HOWARD FINEMAN

GEORGE W. BUSH NEVER liked "grinds." They were totally uncool at Andover and Yale; all-nighters were for lounge lizards like Bill Clinton. But even before the space shuttle Columbia exploded last Saturday, White House aides were advertising the new, workaholic tendencies of their boss. They used to talk openly about his midday workout breaks. No more. Now, says a top official, "we usually have to pry him out of the office." The reason is obvious: he has two jobs. One is commander in chief in the war on terror, now entering a perilous phase in Iraq. The other is president—a leader mindful of his father's fateful failure to address domestic concerns of voters, the economy chief among them, after military triumphs in the same country we are now preparing to invade.

This time, this President Bush is determined to play both roles to the hilt. The evidence is in his State of the Union address (watched by 63 million people) and in the political flowcharts of Karl Rove's jokingly named but deadly serious "Office of Strategery." Simply put, the Bush-Rove strategy is this: leverage popularity from what they hope will be a successful strike against Saddam Hussein to propel a series of sweeping proposals through a Republi-



HOME

can-controlled Congress by year-end. It is not a "Wag the Dog" game plan, in which a phony war is launched as a distraction. In a way, it's the opposite scenario, in which a president lays out an ambitious agenda *in advance* of war. "So if war comes," says a top adviser, "when the war is over with, he will have much to return to"—and, Bush hopes, much to sell in 2004.

The president took Step One last week, hoisting a carefully calibrated series of proposals onto the slow-moving congressional conveyer belt. For "the base"—the Christian conservative activists—he renewed his support for "faith-based" welfare programs, for a slate of pro-life federal judges and for a ban on partial-birth abortion and cloning. For skeptical but perhaps enticeable voters in the middle, he expressed support for research on a hydrogen-powered car, for a $10 billion increase in spending on AIDS in Africa and for new money to treat drug addiction. For party insiders, he took a whack at trial lawyers, backing a law to limit jury awards. His biggest-ticket proposals aimed to show his commitment to kitchen-table issues for the whole country: a $674 billion tax cut and a prescription-drug benefit through Medicare.

HIGH-FIVE: Bush takes his delicate balancing act on the road in Grand Rapids, Mich.

The Democrats' strategy also comes in two parts. At least in Washington, they are still giving the president wide latitude in his role as commander in chief. When Sen. Ted Kennedy demanded a new vote on Iraq, Democratic leader Tom Daschle demurred. Of the major Democratic presidential candidates, only the one who is not a member of Congress (former Vermont governor Howard Dean) denounces the president's clear determination to oust Saddam.

Unwilling or unable to unite in opposition to the president on Iraq, Democrats did manage to launch coordinated airstrikes on his domestic proposals. Their main message: he talks a good game, but the combination of a new war and new tax cuts means he can't put federal money where his mouth is. Democratic spin doctors cited a host of examples. Although the president touts his No Child Left Behind Act, he has yet to call for full funding of the program he champions. His budget proposals to enforce corporate ethics are far less than the bipartisan consensus those in Congress would prefer. While he has now become a champion of AIDS research and charity, Democrats point out that he blocked a special appropriation of $200 million for that purpose last year.

But the Democrats save their most vehement criticism for the centerpieces of Bush's domestic agenda. His tax proposal—an end to taxation of dividends—isn't popular, they note. His new budget (to be unveiled this week) projects huge deficits for years. And his drug benefit would be available only through HMOs. "Does he know that HMOs are among the most disliked institutions in the country?" asks Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic polltaker. (Evidently so: on a trip to Michigan last week that was supposed to feature his Medicare proposal, he ended up barely even discussing it.)

While the Democrats carp, White House officials look for ways to respond. They know they can't use the president to grab the spotlight on domestic issues now. He will be busy talking about Iraq. Instead, they are planning to send cabinet secretaries and other officials on "narrowcasting" missions throughout the country. "Not everything has to appear in The New York Times and The Washington Post," says a Republican strategist. "These other issues are important to get out there. When the time is right, the groundwork is laid." The president himself will try to double-track as much as possible. This week, between mourning the fallen astronauts and discussing the Gulf, he will speak out on energy policy, new vaccination techniques and AIDS. "We know the construct is a daily story on Iraq," says a White House aide. "It's going to be *the* story."

Privately, the president has issued a "not now" edict in response to inquiries from his advisers about whether he wants to take part in any re-election planning sessions. But that hasn't stopped Rove & Co. They have meticulously examined the 2002 results—in which the GOP vote rose to 54 percent—and think they can replicate that showing. Changing population patterns alone, they point out, will give more Electoral College clout to the states Bush won in 2000. They strive not to be smug, but can't hide their confidence. All they need is for the president to be right about a war with Iraq. But if he is wrong—if something goes haywire there, or in the aftermath in the Gulf—even Karl Rove might not be able to write a political game plan that can save the second Bush presidency.

With TAMARA LIPPER

PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

HEIDI LEVINE—SIPA

BIG VICTORY: Supporters of Prime Minister Sharon celebrate in the streets of Tel Aviv last week

A $12 Billion Question

Sharon wants a huge new aid package. Bush needs a viable Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Can they make a deal?

BY JOSHUA HAMMER

A SENSE OF URGENCY FILLED the meeting at the Old Executive Office Building in Washington, D.C. For four hours, a team of high-ranking Israeli officials sat with their counterparts from the State Department last month, pleading for cash. Citing Israel's war-battered economy and mounting security costs, the visiting delegation asked for a whopping $4 billion in extra military assistance, plus $8 billion in commercial-loan guarantees. This sum would be added to nearly $3 billion that Israel already receives each year, the biggest U.S. aid package provided to any country in the world. The Americans made no promises. But according to a senior government official involved in the talks, "The impression we got was a good one."

That unprecedented request could give the White House a powerful lever. The administration has put the peace process on hold for months while concentrating on the buildup to war with Iraq. Meanwhile the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has continued, disrupting America's ties with the Arab world and keeping the whole region precariously off balance. Washington intends to get the two sides talking again "on day one" after a war with Iraq, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz said last month. He added that the administration will push Israel to accept at least a vague timetable for the establishment of a Palestinian state within five years and to "deal with" the Jewish settlements that are still springing up in the occupied territories. In return for the additional $12 billion grant-and-loan package, Washington could demand that Israel quickly freeze or even dismantle some of the West Bank and Gaza's 145 settlements. But will the Bush administration have the nerve?

The United States has used aid to Israel as leverage in the past. In 1991 the Israeli government, led at the time by Yitzhak Shamir, requested $10 billion in commercial-loan guarantees to finance the absorption of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. The then President George H.W. Bush and Secretary of State James Baker demanded a settlement freeze in return. When Shamir refused, the loan guarantees were withheld—one factor in Shamir's defeat in elections the following year. Shamir's successor, Yitzhak Rabin, declared a settlement freeze and received the loan guarantees, along with a 10-year grace period to pay back the money. (The first payment of several hundred million dollars comes due this year.) The new Israeli leader went on to authorize talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization that ended in the 1993 Oslo peace accords.

Now the government is in the hands of the hawkish Ariel Sharon. His Likud Party won 38 seats last week in parliamentary elections, doubling its previous total, but still falling far short of the 61 necessary for a ruling majority. Sharon has said he wants to avoid a coalition with Israel's right-wing parties, which favor unrestricted settlement building in the West Bank and Gaza. Instead he prefers a "unity" government that would include the left-leaning Labor Party, which won 19 seats (its worst showing in history). As of late last week, though, Labor leader Amram Mitzna was refusing to join.

Even a unity government might not be enough to drag Sharon to the peace table. According to the activist group Peace Now, at least 35 new Jewish outposts sprang up in the West Bank during his first term as prime minister, when he shared power with Labor. "Sharon will oppose a sweeping freeze of settlements," predicts one Israeli official close to Sharon. "But there might be some limited—say six-month—freeze." For now, the Bush administration won't likely demand more. The White House budget team can't really consider Israel's $12 billion request until the bills come in for the showdown with Saddam. "You have everybody—the Turks, Jordanians and Egyptians—suggesting their assistance would be made easier if money was forthcoming," says one senior Bush official. "Then our folks are just beside themselves trying to figure out what is going to happen to the price of oil." When the dust clears, however, Bush will have to decide whether to follow his father's example—or continue writing Sharon a blank check.

With DAN EPHRON in Jerusalem and RICHARD WOLFFE in Washington

Trouble Everywhere

Guerrillas, paramilitaries, drugs and terror: Colombia's president wants the world to act now on another big threat

BY LALLY WEYMOUTH

COLOMBIA'S NEW president, Alvaro Uribe Vélez, 50, argues that the challenges he faces should be as important to Washington as the threat from Iraq: the Colombian war is in America's neighborhood, he points out, and has the potential to destabilize much of Latin America. Moreover, 90 percent of the cocaine that finds its way to U.S. streets is grown and manufactured in Colombia. Uribe spoke candidly about Colombia's troubles with NEWSWEEK's Lally Weymouth. Excerpts:

ELIANA APONTE—REUTERS

CENTER OF THE STORM: President Uribe says he's open to dialogue

WEYMOUTH: What have you accomplished after five months in office?

URIBE: There are some good results. [Yet] although we have been fighting to restore law and order, violence continues. The guerrilla groups have huge amounts of money at their disposal. Without drugs, we would have solved the problem long ago.

Do you believe that a victory over the guerrillas can be achieved by force alone?

My first priority is to restore security and the rule of law. But I will keep the door open for the possibility of dialogue.

Have you had any talks with the FARC [the leading rebel group]?

I have talked about the FARC with the secretary-general of the U.N. who said the U.N. will undertake an effort [to offer its] "good offices." Many people have been kidnapped by the FARC—among them governors, congressmen and former ministers.

Is there any hope for dialogue with the ELN [another guerrilla group]?

Former president Andrés Pastrana looked for an agreement with them using Cuba as an intermediary. My government continued this effort—so far unsuccessfully.

What about the third group: the AUC—the paramilitaries?

Some groups in the AUC agreed to cease hostilities—including halting assassinations, abandoning the drug business and stopping kidnapping.

Is there a connection between some members of your armed forces and the AUC?

There have been isolated cases, not institutional connections.

Colombia can now use military equipment given to it by the U.S. to combat terrorism—not just drug trafficking, as was the case in the past. Has this made a difference?

It is impossible to differentiate between narcotics and terror in Colombia. To help the government fight drugs, it's necessary to help it fight violent groups.

You have been quoted as saying the war in your country is as important as the war against Iraq.

Yes. I understand why the democratic world is worrying about Iraq. But this is the right moment for us to call the democratic world to come and face our problem. It has the potential to destabilize democracy in our region and to destroy the Amazon Basin. In Colombia, drugs have destroyed 1,100,000 hectares [2.7 million acres] of tropical jungle. We are making great efforts to seize drugs. But last year we captured only 20 percent of the total amount of drugs exported by Colombian delinquents—mostly cocaine. There should be an effective interdiction system along the Pacific and in the Caribbean and in international airspace.

Do you support President Bush's effort to overthrow Saddam Hussein?

I support any action against terror.

But you think the U.S. should pay more attention to Colombia?

Of course. We have received excellent help from the U.S., but the magnitude of our problem requires more help.

Do you believe the FARC and other terrorist groups are part of a larger network?

We have in jail some IRA members who came to help the FARC.

How much of your country's land is under government control?

There are many parts of Colombia where the state is weak. One of the challenges of my government is to strengthen the state and make its presence more effective in many parts of the country.

What's the most difficult aspect of the situation you face?

The situation is very complicated because of violence, the large fiscal deficit and the high rate of unemployment [17 percent]. But we have already signed an agreement with the IMF to reduce the fiscal deficit in one year from 4.2 percent to 2.5 percent.

"I understand why the democratic world is worrying about Iraq. But our problem has the potential to destabilize democracy in our region and to destroy the Amazon Basin."

—ALVARO URIBE VELEZ

That means implementing austerity measures?

Yes, and effectively applying our economic program.

Implementing wage freezes and tax hikes?

Yes.

At the same time, you have to fight to get more of your country back under your control?

Yes. If you recover public confidence in the ability of the state to provide security, the economy could begin to grow faster and stronger.

A Dangerous Trust Deficit

WE CAN'T DO AN ADLAI STEVENSON," ADMITTED AN administration official about Colin Powell's upcoming speech to the U.N. Security Council. What he meant was that the administration did not have the smoking gun that Stevenson had when he presented the Council with images of Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962. But the real difference between 1962 and now is not what we say, but what people hear. Remember that in 1962 the "smoking gun" Stevenson presented to the world was a set of grainy aerial photographs with white smudges. The smudges, he explained, were Soviet missiles. And everyone believed him. Today, if Powell had digital video footage of Iraqi scientists caught in the act of manufacturing anthrax, there are many around the world—and increasingly in Europe—who would claim that Washington had manufactured the images.

WAR READY: But the jet fighter is not French

The French, who are today the most disbelieving, played a special role in the 1962 crisis. After deciding to blockade Cuba, President Kennedy sent a special envoy, Dean Acheson, to France's President Charles de Gaulle. Acheson offered to show him the photographs. De Gaulle refused. "This is mere evidence," he said, "and great nations such as yours would not take a serious step if there were any doubt about evidence." What we have today is not the lack of evidence, it's the lack of trust.

The United States has done its part to contribute to this atmosphere with careless and confrontational talk and actions. Other than Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, no one in the administration has bothered to build and nurture relationships with their counterparts abroad—odd when you consider that this was one of the chief skills of the elder President Bush. Dick Cheney has taken exactly one foreign trip in his current job, probably setting a record as the least-traveled vice president since John Nance Garner.

But the toxic atmosphere of anti-Americanism prevailing in Europe these days seems to go beyond any specific policy. Traveling through Europe last week, I was confronted with a barrage of angry questions and simmering suspicion. Most frequent was the charge that Washington's "obsession with Iraq" was all about oil. (Spending $100 billion on war and postwar reconstruction just to get a better deal on oil, which Saddam is willing to sell to anyone anyway, doesn't make much sense, but never mind.) One highly intelligent executive asked me why we wanted to get rid of Iraq's chemical and biological agents while maintaining our own arsenal of these weapons. When I explained that in fact the United States did not have such an arsenal, the gentleman looked skeptically at me and said, "officially." He found it entirely plausible that the oldest constitutional democracy in the world has secret weapons labs with armies of scientists manufacturing poison gas.

Europe faces a test. The rising tide of anti-Americanism might destroy the Atlantic alliance and impoverish the life of Europe.

Many assume that French intransigence on Iraq is just a ploy to extract bribes from Washington and that France will eventually come onboard. If so, the French will have cheapened their credibility. The next time they threaten a veto, we will all just sigh and take out our checkbooks. If they choose to use their veto, they will make the Security Council—and France—irrelevant in the first major military action of the 21st century. That doesn't strike me as a victory for France. It is in France's interests to have American power stay tethered to the United Nations.

Iraq is a historical pivot for European-American relations. France and Germany, historically the core and driving force of Europe, face a test. How do they want to position themselves in a world dominated by the United States—as partners or competitors? The Atlantic alliance might appear to be a remnant from the cold war, but in fact it is the core of the new international order. If America and Europe can agree on something, they create an international standard—a kind of magnet—around which other countries coalesce. That is how things work in the world of trade. But if these two great continents begin diverging, and if Europe peels apart, then there will be no core around which an international community can form. Then other countries—most importantly Russia and China—will go their own ways, jockeying for advantage and forging their own alliances, rather than being integrated into a new peaceful world order. It could be a return to 19th-century realpolitik.

Europe's leaders face a test, but so do its people. The rising strain of anti-Americanism might destroy the Atlantic alliance but it will also impoverish the life of Europe. A Swiss friend told me that a few weeks ago his 14-year-old son told him that everyone in his school believed that the CIA had destroyed the World Trade Center so that America could invade Afghanistan. This happened not in the mosques of Saudi Arabia but in the schools of Switzerland. It is the kind of paranoid lunacy one associates with broken and dysfunctional societies, not with the civilization that created the modern world. The Middle East appears finally to have begun to confront the demons and delusions that produce these kinds of conspiracy theories. Does Europe really want to become the next Middle East?

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY—CONTACT FOR NEWSWEEK

LEGAL NOTICE

IF YOU PURCHASED A SUBSCRIPTION TO THIS OR ANOTHER MAGAZINE THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED CLASS ACTION SETTLEMENT MAY AFFECT YOUR RIGHTS

This notice describes a proposed nationwide settlement of class action lawsuits relating to magazine subscriptions that has been reached in In Re Magazine Antitrust Litigation, 00 Civ. 4889 (S.D.N.Y.) (the "Action"), and preliminarily approved by the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (the "Court").

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR THE PAYMENT OF MONEY OR OTHER COMPENSATION TO THE CLASS MEMBERS BUT INSTEAD SOLELY ADDRESSES CERTAIN INDUSTRY RULES AND PRACTICES THAT WERE DIRECTLY CHALLENGED IN THE ACTION AS BEING UNLAWFUL (SEE "THE CLAIMS IN THE LAWSUIT" SECTION BELOW).

This announcement is intended to give class members notice under Rule 23 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and the Order of the Court dated September 20, 2002, as modified on September 30, 2002, that a hearing will be held before the Hon. Richard Conway Casey on May 27, 2003 at 11:00 a.m. to determine whether: (a) to certify the proposed settlement class under Rule 23; (b) the proposed settlement of the Action is fair, reasonable and adequate; (c) a final judgment should be entered dismissing the Action with prejudice to the class members; and (d) to approve class counsels' application for attorneys' fees and expenses. The rest of this notice summarizes the terms of the proposed settlement. You can obtain a copy of the settlement agreement, the Consolidated Amended Class Action Complaint (the "Complaint"), and a list of the magazine subscriptions at issue in the Action, at www.magazine.org or by writing to The Garden City Group, Inc., the Administrator of the Notice Program, at Magazine Antitrust Litigation, P.O. Box 9000 # 6041, Merrick, NY 11566-9000 (the "Administrator"). **ANY QUESTIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS REGARDING THIS NOTICE OR THE SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO THE ADMINISTRATOR AT THE ADDRESS LISTED ABOVE OR BY CALLING 1-888-210-0118. PLEASE DO NOT CONTACT THE ADMINISTRATOR WITH QUESTIONS REGARDING YOUR CURRENT SUBSCRIPTIONS UNLESS THOSE QUESTIONS RELATE TO THE CLASS ACTION SETTLEMENT.**

DO NOT CONTACT THE COURT, COUNSEL TO THE PARTIES, NEWSWEEK OR ANY PUBLISHER REGARDING THIS NOTICE. THE ADMINISTRATOR, WHERE APPROPRIATE, WILL REFER ANY QUESTIONS TO THE APPROPRIATE PERSON.

The Claims in the Lawsuit

The Complaint was filed in this Action in or about October 2000, against the Magazine Publishers of America ("MPA"), a consumer magazine trade association, and fourteen magazine publishing companies (the "Publisher Defendants"). The Complaint alleged an agreement among the Publisher Defendants and the MPA to set the minimum price of or maximum discount on magazine subscriptions through the enactment of MPA Guideline 4(a) and/or the collective action among publishers to adhere to the ABC's 50% Rule (as referred to in ¶45 of the Complaint) or the similar Rule of the BPA International pertaining to its definition of "paid circulation." The Complaint asked the Court to eliminate or modify Guideline 4(a) and to award damages that allegedly were suffered by consumers who purchased subscriptions to the Publisher Defendants' magazines.

The defendants have denied the material allegations of the Complaint. The parties have now agreed to settle the Action in its entirety. On September 20, 2002, the Court preliminarily approved the settlement.

Terms of the Proposed Settlement

In the proposed settlement, the defendants have agreed to do two things: (i) the MPA shall delete in its entirety MPA Guideline 4(a); and (ii) the defendants shall defray the costs incurred in connection with the Action, including the costs of the Notice program involving notifying class members of the terms and conditions of the proposed settlement and the Plaintiffs' actual attorneys' fees and expenses awarded by the Court up to $1.1 million.

In exchange, the Plaintiffs have agreed that, if the settlement is approved, the Court will enter a judgment dismissing the Action with prejudice, and the named Plaintiffs and all class members who have not duly opted-out of the class will be deemed to be subject to the release in this case, which provides as follows: "As of the date on which the Agreement is Finally Approved, the Publisher Defendants and the MPA . . . shall be completely released, acquitted, and forever discharged, from any and all claims, demands, actions, suits, causes of action, injuries or damages, whether class, individual or otherwise in nature, that Plaintiffs, the Class Members or each of them, in his or her capacity as a subscriber to a magazine, ever had or now has, in law or equity, under federal or state law, relating to an agreement to set the minimum price of or maximum discount on magazine subscriptions through the enactment of MPA Guideline 4(a) and/or the collective action among publishers to adhere to the ABC's 50% Rule (as referred to in ¶45 of the Amended Complaint) or the similar Rule of the BPA International pertaining to its definition of 'paid circulation.'"

The release also releases class action claims that were previously brought (but subsequently dismissed without prejudice) by a plaintiff in the State Court in San Diego, California, who asserted similar allegations against the defendants albeit based on violations of California state laws. The California action was styled *Coossan v. Hearst Corp., et. al.,* No. GIC 752985. A copy of the Coossan Complaint can be obtained at www.magazine.org.

Who are the Publisher Defendants?

The Publisher Defendants are: Condé Nast Publications, Inc.; Gruner + Jahr Printing and Publishing Company; Hachette Filipacchi Media U.S., Inc. (f/k/a Hachette Filipacchi Magazines, Inc.); The Hearst Corporation; International Data Group, Inc.; Meredith Corporation; Newsweek, Inc.; Primedia, Inc.; Reader's Digest Association, Inc.; Rodale Inc.; Time Inc.; Time4Media, Inc. (f/k/a Times Mirror Magazines, Inc.); TV Guide, Inc. and Ziff-Davis Publishing, Inc.

Who is in the Class?

Class Members are those persons who purchased a subscription to this publication or to other publications that were published by any of the Publisher Defendants during the period from and including July 1, 1996 up to and including April 15, 2002 (the "Class"). For purposes of determining inclusion in the Class, it does not matter whether you purchased your subscription from one of the Publisher Defendants, or through agents, subagents or other third party marketers. You are not, however, a member of the Class if you did not purchase a magazine subscription within the time period stated above, or if you purchased your magazines only at newsstands.

Your Right to Object to the Proposed Settlement

You have the right to appear, in person or by counsel, at the hearing on the proposed settlement in order to comment on, or object to, the terms of the proposed settlement, its adequacy or reasonableness and/or the award of attorneys' fees and expenses to class counsel. However, you will only be heard at that time if you first, by May 5, 2003, (a) file with the Court a notice of your intention to appear, which includes the basis for your objection, a statement identifying the magazines to which you subscribed, and the approximate time period of each such subscription; and (b) serve copies of the notice (and all other papers you intend to rely upon) by hand or first class mail on Plaintiffs' co-lead counsel, Bruce E. Gerstein, Esq., Garwin, Bronzaft, Gerstein, & Fisher, LLP, 1501 Broadway, Suite 1416, New York, NY 10036 and H. Laddie Montague, Jr., Esq., Berger & Montague, 1622 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103, and on Defendants' coordinating counsel, Lawrence I. Fox, Esq. at McDermott, Will & Emery, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, 11th Floor, New York, New York 10020.

Your Right to Opt-Out of the Settlement

ALTHOUGH YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO APPEAR AT THE HEARING, YOU HAVE NO OBLIGATION TO DO SO. If you do not wish to participate in or be bound by the proposed settlement, you can exclude yourself (i.e., "opt-out"). To opt out, you MUST send a request for exclusion in an envelope POSTMARKED NO LATER THAN MAY 5, 2003 to the Administrator of the Notice Program, Magazine Antitrust Litigation, P.O. Box 9000 # 6041, Merrick, NY 11566-9000. The request for exclusion must state your full name, the magazine(s) to which you subscribed and the approximate time period of each subscription, and the address to which your magazines were sent. IF YOU DO NOT EXCLUDE YOURSELF, you will be barred from prosecuting any legal action against the MPA or its members and the Publisher Defendants to the full extent of the release set forth in the "Terms of the Proposed Settlement" section above.

Examination of Papers and Inquiries

For a more detailed statement of the matters involved in the Action, including the Complaint, the settlement agreement, motion papers and certain orders of the Court, you may visit the office of the Clerk of the United States District Court, 500 Pearl Street, New York, New York, during business hours. Copies of the papers relating to the settlement are also available at www.magazine.org.

Everything will work out just fine, the president says. But a close look at his economic record so far suggests that he has a 'fuzzy math' problem.

BY ALLAN SLOAN

PRESIDENT BUSH RADIATED calm and assurance about the troubled economy in his State of the Union Message last week. "To bring our economy out of recession, we delivered the largest tax relief in a generation," our Harvard M.B.A. president said, to loud applause. He later added, "Lower taxes and greater investment will help this economy expand." It's a theme he will undoubtedly repeat to help sell the budget he submits to Congress this week. It sure sounds like the president has things under control. Not to worry, right? But actions speak louder than words, so let's look beyond the president's upbeat rhetoric at some numbers the economy and financial markets have posted in his first two years.

The highlights: U.S. stocks have lost almost $5 trillion of value since Bush took office two years ago, a mind-blowing decline. The market has fallen more (in percentage terms) during Bush's first two years than in the first two years of any modern president, including Herbert Hoover, who was in charge when the Great Depression began. And you can't blame the Bush Market on the trauma of 9-11: stocks fell at a much faster rate from Bush's Inauguration through Sept. 10, 2001, than they have since. Unemployment is up more than 40 percent (to 6 percent, from 4.2) since Bush took office; gigantic projected federal-budget surpluses have turned into deficits; the dollar has fallen sharply against the euro. The good news: interest rates have fallen, juicing consumer spending.

The president's response to our problems has been to propose tax cuts that offer little in the way of short-term stimulus. These cuts may—or may not—confer benefits in future years, when their full cost kicks in. The centerpiece: the controversial plan to make most corporate divi-

BUSH'S DEPRES

dends tax-free to shareholders. Then there's his recent proposal to expand retirement accounts. His plan would boost tax revenue short term by ending deductions for some plans. But it will cut revenues long term, because retirees will be able to tap their accounts tax-free.

The dreary economic numbers make you wonder whether Bush's remedies have a chance of curing the patient any time soon. His prescription—cut taxes—is exactly what he prescribed when the economy seemed healthy. With the patient not responding, he wants to cut taxes more. With Bush, it always seems to be tax-cut time. He's not the first president to want to cut taxes—but he is the only president in at least 140 years (and probably ever) to suggest cutting taxes as we're heading into a war. This all makes for a troubling picture for anyone hoping the economy and the market will resume booming as soon as the war with Iraq is behind us. Sooner or later the economy will fix itself, because it always does. The question is whether Bush's policies will advance the recovery—or delay it.

The White House declined to discuss any aspect of Bush's performance with NEWSWEEK. So we'll rely on public statements by R. Glenn Hubbard, head of the president's Council of Economic Advisers. Hubbard says, in essence, that our economic problems are caused largely by businesses not investing enough, rather than by the traditional problem of consumers not spending enough. To fix the problem, then, we should strengthen investment incentives. What Hubbard hasn't said—but is inherent in his analysis—is that sending one-time checks to millions of people won't get the country out of its slump. Sending checks to the masses is exactly what Democrats propose.

Let's take a closer look at the numbers on the scoreboard, and see what they tell us about Bush's chances of winning this game.

THE STOCK MARKET

When President Bush was sworn in on Jan. 20, 2001, U.S. stocks were valued at $14.7 trillion, according to Wilshire Associates. Last week's value: $9.9 trillion. Total decline: $4.8 trillion. The only fair way to compare the Bush Market with other presidents' markets is to use percentages rather than dollars. Here, too, he leads the pack. According to a study conducted for NEWSWEEK by Aronson+Johnson+Ortiz LP, a Philadelphia money-management firm, the Standard & Poor's 500 Index has fallen more in Bush's first two years than under any president since the modern stock market emerged. (AJO's data go back only as far as Hoover, enough for our purposes.) During Hoover's first two years, which included the Black Thursday crash in October 1929, the S&P fell 29 percent. Not as bad as Bush's 33 percent. (Through last week, the decline was 36 percent.)

Since Bush's Inauguration, the market has lost $4.8 trillion in value. It's the biggest percentage drop for any modern president.

You can't blame this all on Bush, of course. The market he inherited in 2001 had been inflated by the tech and telecom bubble that started popping in the spring of 2000. It was bound to fall. But he's been in office long enough to bear at least some responsibility—you can bet he'd be taking the credit if the market were rising. He can't blame the problem on 9-11. AJO says the S&P 500 declined at a 28 percent annual rate from Bush's Inauguration through Sept. 10, 2001, but at less than half that rate since 9-11. However you count, the market isn't buying his program. And in the long run, the market's pretty savvy.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

When Bush was sworn in, Uncle Sam seemed to be awash in cash. The federal budget was running big surpluses; the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office projected a $5.6 trillion surplus for the 2002-2011 fiscal years. Bush got his 2001 tax cut through Congress even though the only way to make the numbers work was to use 10 years of projected surpluses to support a tax cut projected to last only nine years. That's why the cuts are scheduled to end in 2010—which, of course, they won't. The fact that the president used this kind of "fuzzy math" to get what he wanted doesn't exactly inspire faith in the reliability of his numbers.

With the economy in the dumps, tax collections falling and federal expenditures ratcheting up, the projected surpluses have melted away faster than your 401(k). The Congressional Budget Office now projects a tiny $20 billion surplus for the 2002-2011 period—and a $200 billion-plus deficit if you assume

Newsweek MSNBC Join Allan Sloan for a Live Talk Tuesday, Feb. 4, at noon, ET, on Newsweek.MSNBC.com

SING ECONOMY

ILLUSTRATION BY STEPHEN KRONINGER

Bush's tax cuts won't disappear. This assumes no war, no further tax cuts and no stimulus spending. What a realistic number is, heaven only knows.

Bush's supposedly quick-hitting cure for the economy's malaise is twofold. First, accelerate his tax cuts and make them permanent, which he claims will put the economy (and thus the federal budget) on the road to recovery. Second, end the "double taxation of corporate dividends." You can make an argument that Bush's plan will get companies to stop dodging corporate income taxes and will cure everything but warts. Given how the world really works, I don't buy it for a second. But even though this plan would probably produce economic benefits, it would take years to make an impact. This isn't what you need to kick the economy into gear today.

The Bushies have been arguing that federal deficits don't really matter, because no one can prove that rising deficits mean rising interest rates. But they do mean rising interest *bills*. Here's the dreary math. Mitch Daniels, the head of Bush's Office of Management and Budget, says the fiscal 2003 deficit could be $300 billion. But that includes the $175 billion Social Security surplus. (These surpluses were once supposed to be put in lockboxes—which have turned into leak boxes.) So the government is really in the hole by $475 billion. Let's say Uncle Sam's cost of borrowing that vast sum is a modest 4 percent a year. That's $19 billion. This means that every year, we'll spend more to pay for the 2003 deficit than the $15 billion the president proposes to spend for his five-year AIDS-fighting initiative in Africa. Deficits do matter, especially if you care about bequeathing bills to your children and grandchildren. Bush certainly said he did in his State of the Union speech: "We will not pass along our problems to other Congresses, to other presidents and other generations."

INTEREST RATES

Since Bush took office, Alan Greenspan's Federal Reserve Board has cut a key short-term interest rate, the federal-funds rate, to 1.25 percent from 6 percent. Long-term rates have fallen some, but less than the short rates. That's because the Fed controls short-term rates, but the financial markets set long-term rates.

People have argued that the Fed cuts haven't helped, because the economy is still so crummy. But consider what things would be like if rates hadn't been cut. There has been a refinancing boom in houses, brought on largely by low rates. Mark Zandi, chief economist of Economy.com, estimates that refinancing has put $420 billion into homeowners' pockets in the past two years. "That dwarfs any sort of fiscal stimulus," he says. And low interest rates have made it possible for car companies to afford zero percent financing. The refinancing boom and zero-interest cars have kept consumer spending healthy. And kept the economy afloat.

But the low-rate game seems largely played out. The refi boom is slowing, car sales are softening, the Fed can't cut rates much more. So Bush can't count on lower rates to keep coming to his rescue.

THE DOLLAR

The downside of low rates is that they make Treasury securities less attractive to buyers. They're especially unattractive to Europeans, given the dollar's 20 percent fall against the euro in the past year. (Total decline since Bush took office: 13 percent.) Foreigners help cover the federal deficit by buying Treasury securities—and growing deficits mean we'll be increasingly dependent on foreign money. It's going to be increasingly difficult to lure foreigners who keep score in euros to continue buying low-yielding Treasuries that pay interest in depreciating dollars.

The dollar's decline means, in theory, that we'll be exporting more to Europe than we otherwise would because our goods will be more competitive, and we'll be importing less because European goods will be more expensive. In the long run, this strengthens our economy. In the short run, it could cause problems financing the federal deficit. If we have to raise rates to cater to foreign investors, it will be the beginning of the end of our financial autonomy. And that won't be a good thing.

None of this is to say that Bush is fated to go down in history as an economic failure like Herbert Hoover. It's only halftime, the game's not over. But so far, the president has talked a great game, but he hasn't played anything resembling a great game. It's time to start watching what the scoreboard has to say, rather than relying on the mere word of the cheerleader in chief. Optimism certainly matters—but the numbers are what really matter. And they're not good.

Research by LISA BERGTRAUM

Unemployment has risen to 6 percent, a 43 percent jump under Bush. Projected budget surpluses have vanished. This year's deficit: $300 billion.

ILLUSTRATION BY STEPHEN KRONINGER

Camelot Lane
to
community center
to
first chair.

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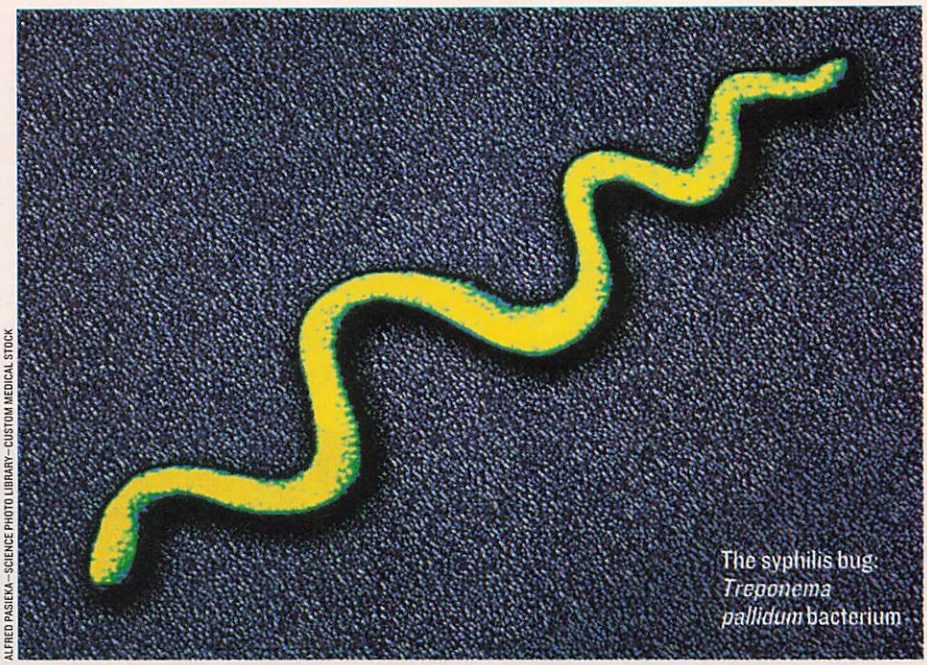

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The syphilis bug: *Treponema pallidum* bacterium

An Old Enemy Is Back

Syphilis is on the rise among urban men nationwide

BY CLAUDIA KALB

IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE ON ITS WAY out. Just four years ago, syphilis—the "great pox" of the 15th century—had declined to rates so low in this country that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention announced a bold new plan to eliminate the disease by 2005. But the stubborn scourge has come bounding back, with outbreaks from Miami to Seattle. Last week New York City health officials announced a 50 percent increase in syphilis diagnoses between 2001 and 2002. San Francisco's numbers more than doubled in the same period. And health officials who'd hoped to herald the disease's demise are putting the public on high alert.

The concern isn't just about the spike in the disease, but what it could foreshadow for a deadlier epidemic. The sores that mark syphilis increase the risk of HIV transmission two- to fivefold. That people are even contracting syphilis suggests the erosion of safe-sex practices. "Every case of syphilis might mean one more transmission of HIV," says Dr. Thomas Frieden, New York City's health commissioner.

After a steep decline in the 1990s, syphilis rates rose by 2 percent between 2000 and 2001, from a total of 5,979 cases to 6,103. While the actual numbers are small, the increase is almost exclusively among men—a 15 percent jump. At the same time, rates among women and African-Americans, and in the hard-hit South, dropped. The rise is being attributed to urban outbreaks among gay and bisexual men, known in the health world as "MSM," or men who have sex with men. In Chicago, for example, MSM accounted for 63 percent of syphilis cases last year, up from only 14 percent in 1998.

Syphilis can be diagnosed with a blood test and cured with antibiotics. But since the initial lesions are painless, the disease can go undetected. Condoms protect against transmission. Yet safe sex can be difficult to practice 100 percent of the time. And the impact of powerful AIDS drugs has tempted many men to let their guard down. For younger men, especially, "the old prevention messages of the '80s don't resonate," says Ronald Johnson of Gay Men's Health Crisis. Even older men, scared into strict condom use in the 1980s and '90s, "have done some backsliding with respect to their behavior," says Dr. H. Hunter Handsfield, of Seattle and King County's public health department.

'Every case of syphilis we see might mean one more transmission of HIV ... It's a reflection of an increase of risky sexual behavior'

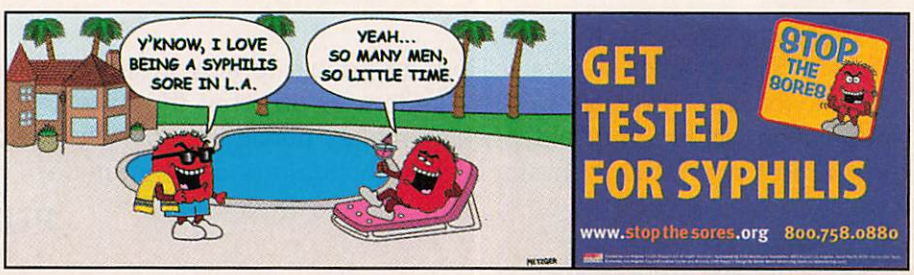
–DR. THOMAS FRIEDEN, N.Y.C. Health Dept.

Anonymous sex plays a big role. Bathhouses and sex clubs are part of the problem, but health officials are also concerned about the Internet; in San Francisco, half of all men diagnosed with syphilis last month reported meeting sexual partners online. Then there are "circuit" dance parties, where drugs and sex abound. Some men mix stimulants like crystal methamphetamine or ecstasy with Viagra, leading to more sex with more people and, thus, "more friction and more breakage in the skin," says Charlie Rabins, of Illinois's public health department.

"Syphilis is just the tip of the iceberg," says Dr. Gail Bolan, of California's health department. Already about 70 percent of MSM syphilis patients are also infected with HIV. New York data show that two thirds of men infected with both syphilis and HIV engage in unsafe sex. And some of these men may also be having sex with women. Says Dr. Peter Kerndt, of Los Angeles County health department: "A bridge into the heterosexual community could wipe out the gains we've made."

Containing the outbreaks is an enormous challenge. Cities like L.A. are launching provocative awareness campaigns, with Web sites and billboards. But big hurdles accompany every small step. Health activists are butting heads with a federal government that questions the effectiveness of condoms and promotes abstinence, to the exclusion of other forms of prevention. There's never enough funding. And debate over the efficacy of safe-sex initiatives rages on. Still there's no getting around the urgency: an old enemy is back—and vigilance remains the most powerful weapon we have.

With KAREN SPRINGEN, JULIE SCELFO and NADINE JOSEPH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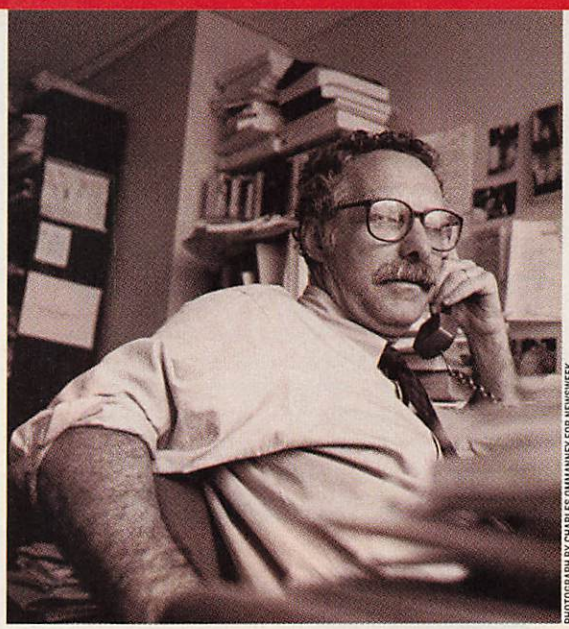
Robert J. Samuelson

Show Kids The Money?



PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK

ONE OF MY BAD HABITS IS CONTEMPLATING my failures as a parent. The evidence of this surrounds me. My teenagers watch too much television and spend too much time on videogames (even though we remove the controllers during the week). Their rooms do not reflect my constant commands that they clean up. Even my wife's stern common sense cannot compensate for all my parental shortcomings. But to my list of defeats now can be added another: money management.

I have failed to instruct my children properly. I know this because I have just finished David Owen's delightful book, "The First National Bank of Dad: The Best Way to Teach Kids About Money." Children should usually receive generous allowances and have more control over their money, says Owen. "If the money they spend isn't truly theirs," he writes, "they have no compelling reason to pay attention to how they spend it." Sounds sensible. But allowances in our house are modest; our children might say "stingy."

Owen offers some imaginative ideas for inspiring good financial behavior: Dad should create a fictitious bank with high interest rates (say, 3 percent a month) to teach children up to 12 the virtues of saving; Dad should create a fictitious stock market with shares valued at one hundredth of actual prices to teach teenagers the pleasures and perils of investing. I have done none of this.

As a journalist, I'm intrigued by the book's mere existence. It's more evidence of America's astounding affluence. The notion of lecturing children about mutual funds would have struck our ancestors as absurd. So, too, the possibility that children would have discretionary income. But they do. In 2002 all 12- to 19-year-olds spent $172 billion, estimates Teenage Research Unlimited. That was money under their control, not what parents spent on their behalf. It amounted to an average of $92 a week for 16- to 17-year-olds. An estimated 47 percent of these teens have cell phones.

Children are said to grow up faster now than ever before. In some ways, the opposite is true. A century ago many children—certainly those over 11 or 12—had jobs. On farms, many "worked as much as adults," notes sociologist Donald Hernandez of the State University of New York at Albany. As for factory work, the first child-labor law dates to 1837 in Massachusetts, reports economist Carolyn Moehling of Yale. By 1890, 17 states imposed age limits on hiring; three were as low as 10 and none higher than 14.

What made children work was not parental cruelty but economic necessity. Families needed labor and money. As economic creatures, children and teenagers have moved from being mainly workers to being mainly consumers. Of course, many teenagers have jobs today (about 40 percent of 16- to 19-year-olds are in the labor force). But their earnings go mainly for pocket money, not family income. A century ago teenagers started a life of full-time jobs; now most teens have part-time or temporary jobs.

If the money teens spend isn't really theirs, says a new book, then they will have no compelling reason to closely track how they spend it

It wasn't until most teenagers were in high school and began "to look to one another and not to adults for advice, information, and approval" that they emerged as a distinct class, notes Grace Palladino, author of "Teenagers: An American History." This process culminated only in the 1950s. (In 1920, 16 percent of 17-year-olds were high-school graduates; by 1960 that was 63 percent.) But once it happened, aggressive advertisers and merchants responded.

Every young American now receives a free tutorial in envy and extravagance. This starts with a visit to Toys "R" Us and the endless aisles of dolls, videogames and sports equipment. After that it intensifies. On MTV, the program "Cribs"—my children actually like this (sob!)—features the homes of rich young rap stars, athletes and actors. Mercedeses, Hummers and Escalades crowd the garages; swimming pools and sculptures fill the backyards.

What fascinates me as a journalist baffles me as a parent. American culture creates a tension between achieving material success and not being controlled by it. How do we teach our children to use money wisely? I agree with Owen that we ought to provide guidance. But aside from parents' examples—our attitudes toward money, spending and saving—I am at a loss. I lack Owen's optimism that good financial judgment can by imbued by artificial games. Sensible saving and investing habits strike me as adult skills that must be mastered as adults. Even if I'm wrong, the stock market's collapse suggests that today's parents aren't the best teachers.

The trouble is that today's middle-class children are educated into a doctrine of effortless wealth. We parents may make it worse. The very comfort that we try to create for our children may give them the misleading impression that achieving the same for themselves will be more automatic than it is. As adults, my children won't be able to use money wisely unless they first earn it. I wish I had a formula for ensuring they'll get well-paid and satisfying jobs, but aside from the usual advice (work hard, follow your dreams, be lucky), I have none. This may be unavoidable, but I count it as another failure.

It is an incredible process, unprecedented, and—so far—the public participation is working.
—DANIEL LIBESKIND

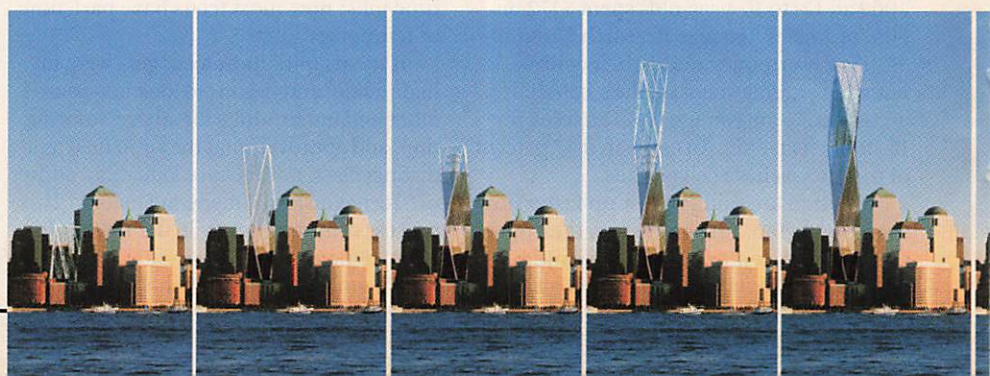
Studio Daniel Libeskind The architect (below) makes the pit of Ground Zero, with its vast slurry walls, a memorial site and the core of his scheme. A semicircular promenade, to the left, curves above the void; future office towers spin off to the right. A garden blooms in the highest spire.

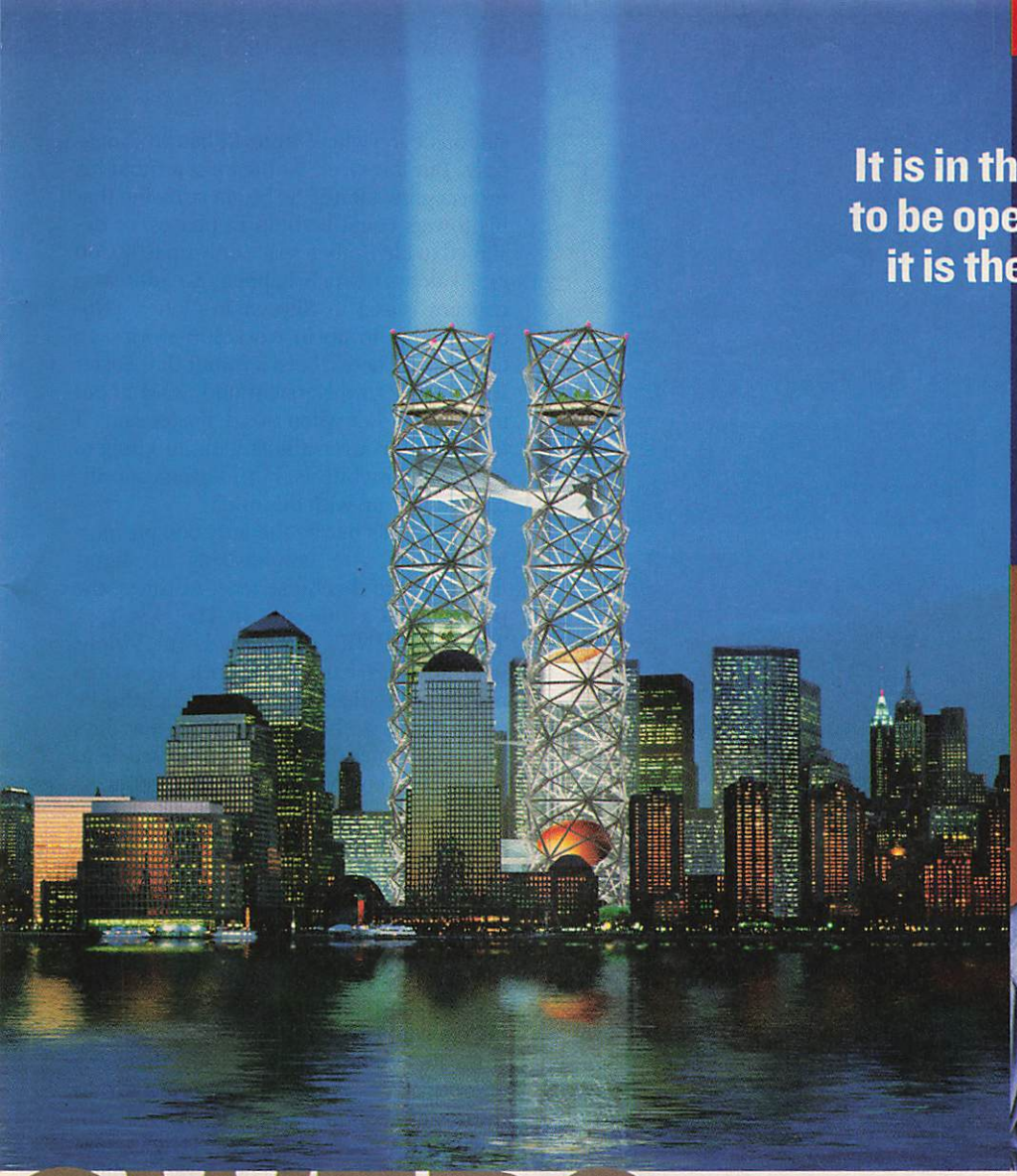
A TALE OF TWO T

BY CATHLEEN MCGUIGAN

NEW YORK CITY IS GETTING more than its share of great exhibitions these days—Leonardo da Vinci's drawings at the Met; Picasso and Matisse coming to MoMA—but the surprise blockbuster of the season has to be this: the show of competing architectural models for the World Trade Center site. For the past six weeks an estimated 80,000 New Yorkers and tourists have swarmed the lobby of an office building in lower Manhattan to peer at plans created by seven design teams, chosen in an international competition. Some days, the place gets so jammed—with people chattering in every language from Japanese to Italian—you have to rubberneck to get a decent glimpse. The models are like magical toys, some with moving parts and lights, others with stunning video displays providing a virtual-reality trip into the future. Dads and moms and kids crouch low against the glass-front cases and look down the tiny streets, trying to imagine they were one of those eensy silver figures striding through a miniature city. What would it be like if one of the plans sprang to life, full size, if the postage stamps of green turned into acres of grass, and the crystalline model towers became shining skyscrapers, looming higher than any in the world?

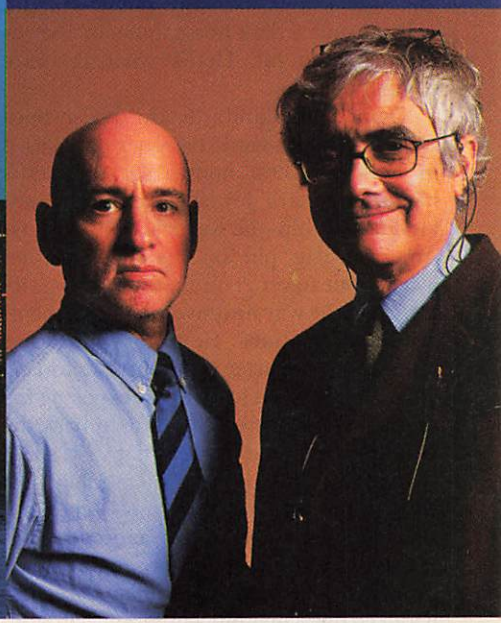
Early this week two of those schemes will take a giant step toward possibility. A committee representing the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, the Port





It is in the nature of the project to be open-ended. What will fill it is the work of many people.
—RAFAEL VIÑOLY

THINK Schwartz (below, left), Viñoly and their team took a radical turn: they made the public realm the central idea of their plan, with two lacy towers of infrastructure—empty baskets that could hold cultural facilities in the years ahead. The towers would quickly restore the skyline.



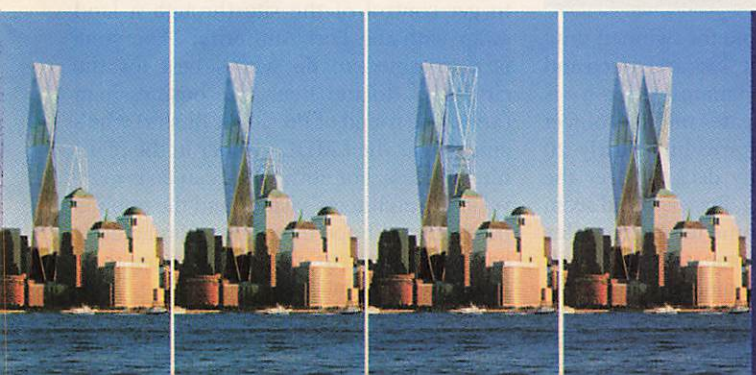
OWERS

The battle over the World Trade Center design heats up this week. Two finalists will duke it out for architecture's heavyweight crown.

Authority (which owns the site) and the mayor's and governor's offices is winnowing down the list of finalists. The group will consider public input, of course—10,000 comment cards were filled out at the exhibit, and the LMDC's Web site has had 8 million visits. The public has spoken before, notably by trashing the lame plans first trotted out last summer and prompting the competition that's brought us to this moment. But the ultimate decision about what gets built rests with the powers that be—whoever *they* turn out to be.

What's truly remarkable is that the process has called into question the business-as-usual real-estate practices that have dominated New York City for decades—and put visionary architecture in the spotlight. All too often, serious designers have been marginalized: developers think of architects as the guys they hire to decorate the lobby. But the architects emerging in this round are bursting with big ideas that far transcend the stated guidelines. They've become cultural emissaries—thinkers, visual poets, city makers.

Yet the role both of these architects and of the public—ordinary citizens with extraordinary passion about the site and the plans—is still threatened. Late last week developer Larry Silverstein, who signed a 99-year-lease on the Twin Towers only weeks before 9-11, asserted a claim on the planning process in a nine-page letter to the LMDC. He insists the 10 million square feet of office space lost that day be restored—though the glut of commercial space was just what the public hated about



Foster & Partners
The firm's ambitious proposal for a twinned tower 1,764 feet high could be phased in, says Foster, as these images illustrate. Given the weak economy, the need for millions of feet of new offices is uncertain.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: LEON BORENSZTEIN, LMDC—AP, COURTESY OF THINK TEAM. PHOTOGRAPH BY MELANIE DUNEA FOR NEWSWEEK, COURTESY OF FOSTER AND PARTNERS

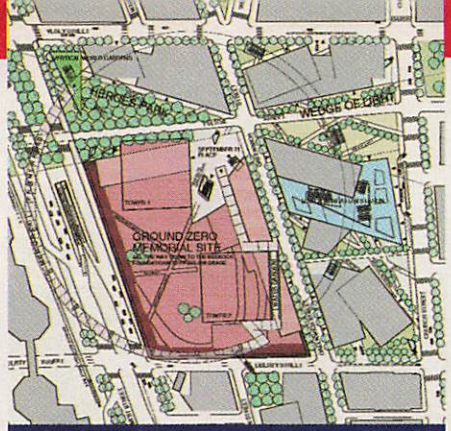
last summer's schemes. Though Silverstein had early access to these plans, only at the eleventh hour is he saying he likes none of them. And he wants any designers chosen to work with *his* architects, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill. As it happens, SOM partner Roger Duffy led a team that created the least-liked plan in the current exhibit; he withdrew it before suffering further humiliation.

The two leading design teams, on the other hand—Studio Daniel Libeskind and THINK—are popular with the public, civic groups and critics, including this one. A third scheme, by Norman Foster of London, the leader in many public-opinion polls, is now a dark horse, but can't be entirely written off. Here's what the race comes down to.

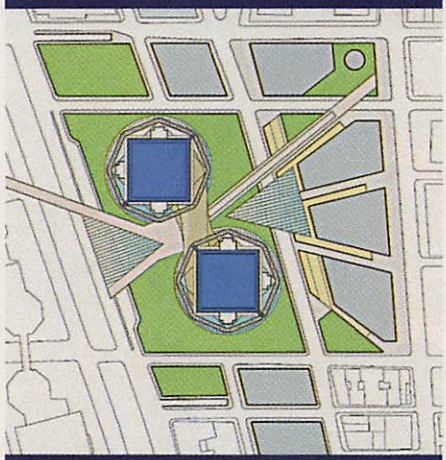
Daniel Libeskind, 56, the Polish-born American avant-garde designer now based in Berlin, is best known for that city's hauntingly stark Jewish Museum. Libeskind is *über*-hip—he wears a Twin Towers/American-flag pin on his black leather jacket—but never cool: there's nothing detached in the way he draws on potent memories and emotions. He proposes to leave more than a quarter of Ground Zero as a void, 70 feet down to bedrock, exposing the original slurry walls built to hold back the Hudson River, and to keep that vast, silent space for a museum and memorial. "The site is a powerful place already," Libeskind says. He's right. A week ago, as arctic winds blasted New York, the water seeping down the rough wall froze into brilliant cascades; it looked like a magnificent Piranesian ruin. Above the void, Libeskind has spun a dynamic spiral of high-rises, culminating in a 1,776-foot spire (OK, the 1776 is corny) that thrusts a garden into the sky. Libeskind loves metaphor: a ruin at the bottom; life blooming at the top.

Libeskind's main rival is the THINK team, led by the New York-based architects Rafael Viñoly, 58, and Frederic Schwartz, 50 (and including, among others, Shigeru Ban of Japan and landscape architect Ken Smith). THINK has thought up a truly subversive core idea—and that's a compliment. Its plan pushes office buildings (to be designed by other architects in the future) to the perimeter and focuses on the public realm. Two lacy, open silos hover over the footprints of the Twin Towers and soar 1,665 feet into the sky. The team considers these towers infrastructure: cultural facilities of all sorts can be tucked inside them. "The Twin Towers were the towers of commerce," says Schwartz. "Then they became the towers of light [in a beamed tribute last spring]. Now they're the towers of air."

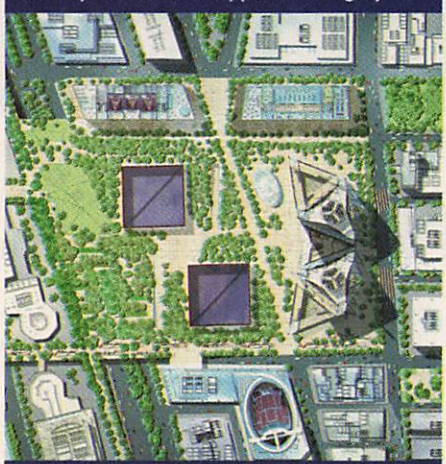
Foster, on the other hand, played by the rules, though his scheme for twinned towers 1,764 feet high—that "kiss and touch and become one," as he's famously put it—is hugely ambitious. It creates millions of feet of office space, while providing nearly 20 acres of public park by decking over the highway west of the site. Foster would seem to have the perfect résumé for the complex WTC job: his 600-person firm has built everything from skyscrapers to subway stations everywhere from Bilbao to Singapore. But last week, as the buzz around his project grew fainter, he began stressing that his towers could be built in phases, or designed to have office space only up to 50, 60 or 70 floors—which happens to address a concern raised in Silverstein's letter. (Nobody wants to go to work 100 stories up anymore.) There'd been a rumor that Foster was talking to Silverstein and SOM about teaming up, but when asked, Foster said: "I have many conversations with all kinds of people and architects, but I haven't specifically caught up with this one."



Libeskind In this plan, the pink is the Ground Zero memorial site, at bedrock; the gray sites are for commercial development



THINK Each tower would surround a footprint of the Twin Towers; commercial development would happen on the gray lots



Foster His plan, with towers at the right, has the most green space; it leaves the footprints themselves for memorial sites

Foster was hardly the only one promoting his plans or emphasizing his lightfootedness in this horse race. At times, the publicity got a little silly. In The New York Times, THINK's Uruguay-born Viñoly, who also has experience with big urban projects, was described as so delightful he could "open a charm school." A few days later, the Times devoted an entire article to Libeskind's cowboy boots. Hey, architects *are* the new celebrities, aren't they?

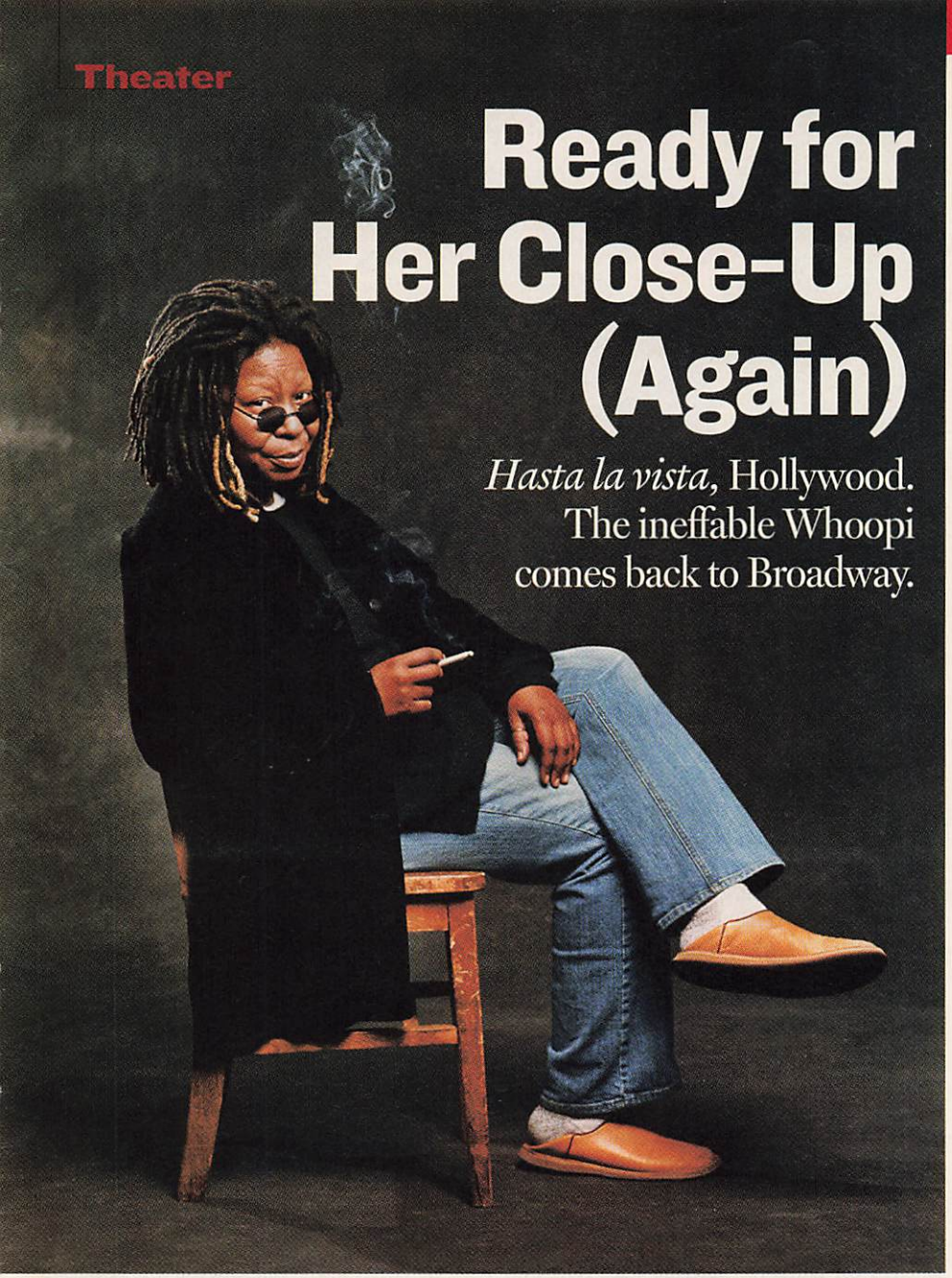
But as the planning committee debates, it faces two deeply serious schemes, each with its own inspiring idea to be tested. Would Libeskind's eloquent void overwhelm any memorial put there? How tough would it be to shore up the slurry walls? Is his plan too depressing? THINK's towers could be built right away—and restore the skyline more quickly than any other scheme, rather than waiting for an improved economy to justify new downtown office space. But are THINK's airy towers, which would cost $480 million (with elevators, stairs and basic services, but not fitted out with the projected cultural spaces), a luxury?

As officials grapple with these extraordinary projects and the extraordinary questions they raise, other troubling issues will surface. After scrutinizing the two final schemes for several weeks, the committee hopes to select a single architect or team and go on to create a master plan. Competition designs are always modified, of course—but will the chosen designer's core idea survive? And who, in the end, is the client here? The Port Authority? Larry Silverstein? The city itself, which is still trying to get control of the site through a land swap with the Port Authority? "Everyone is determined to do what's best for the city," says Roland Betts, the businessman (and close friend of President Bush's) who's emerged as the LMDC's leader in the planning process. For now, all we can do is marvel at the architects' visions and the public's passion, and hope that those who actually have the power to choose also have their hearts in the right place. ■

FROM TOP: © STUDIO DANIEL LIBESKIND, COURTESY OF THINK TEAM, COURTESY OF FOSTER AND PARTNERS

Ready for Her Close-Up (Again)

Hasta la vista, Hollywood. The ineffable Whoopi comes back to Broadway.



SMOKIN': Goldberg, 48, found frustration in Hollywood and solace in Sid Caesar

BY ALLISON SAMUELS

MY MOTHER TOLD ME WHEN I was pretty young that you can be who you are or try hard to be something else," Whoopi Goldberg says, with a toss of those trademark funky dreadlocks. "I was always a lazy b—h, so trying hard to be something else wasn't going to happen." That's always been the Goldberg formula for success: one part Horatio Alger uplift, one part in-your-face street talk and one part in-her-own-face self-parody. When a young African-American woman who grew up in New York City public housing drops the name Caryn Johnson and reinvents herself under a name from deepest Mall America, attention must be paid—which of course was the whole point. Lately, though, we haven't seen her much, except when she's hosting the Academy Awards. "When I was hot," she says, "others had to stand back for a minute—a very short minute, I might add—and now *I'm* standing back." You can imagine how she likes that. And of course she's got a plan.

In this industry, if you are a woman who doesn't have that f—ability factor, you're not going to work a lot.

—WHOOPI, on the intangibles

This week Goldberg will open on Broadway in a revival of August Wilson's "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom," which she helped produce herself. That's only one of the irons she's got in the fire—and no one's got more fire. But no matter how that and her various production projects turn out, Goldberg, now 48, has carved a unique place for herself in the world of entertainment. She emerged in the early '80s as a sort of female Richard Pryor, a stand-up comic for whom nothing was off limits: neither race nor sex nor social issues nor the weirdness of life itself. Mike Nichols helped her get her one-woman "Spook Show" on Broadway in 1984. Naturally, Hollywood wanted her, even though it didn't quite know what to do with her. "She's different," says her friend Quincy Jones. "Different from anybody out there in terms of talents and looks. And sometimes different makes people uncomfortable." In 1985, Steven Spielberg (whose coat had been pulled by Jones) cast her as the lead in the film version of Alice Walker's "The Color Purple." She became a Hollywood personage, and even won an Academy Award of her own, as best supporting actress for her role in the 1990 "Ghost." But such recent disappointments as losing out to Queen Latifah for a key role in "Chicago" have forced her to throw her energies into a typically ambitious plan B: not just "Ma Rainey," but theater, TV and film production.

"It was kind of a necessity," Goldberg says. She's sitting in her dressing room at the Royale Theatre, which she's decorated with drawings by her grandchildren—for which she paid them $10 apiece. "It was the kind of thing where either I had to go out and make the work for myself or not work at all." In the early '90s, she formed the One Ho production company with old friend and new business partner Tom Leonardis, which turned out such popular TV shows as Lifetime's "Strong Medicine" and a new version of "Hollywood Squares." (You know who starred.) Now they've produced the Tony award-winning "Thoroughly Modern Millie," currently on Broadway, as well as "Ma Rainey," and Goldberg is shopping a script around Hollywood, based on a book called "Destined to Witness: Growing Up Black in Nazi Germany." ("The guys at the studios say, 'OK, but what's the hook?' I say, 'What's the *hook*? Did you hear the *title*?' ") Right now, though, she's focused on her return to Broadway, in a production already dogged by personnel problems. Recently she and costar Charles Dutton complained in New York's Time Out magazine about such things as the order of their names in the billing. And if the show runs long enough—right now it's supposed to run through June—it's sure to take its toll on her, since she and Dutton will be performing every night. "Child, if I'd known what I was get-

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARY ELLEN MARK FOR NEWSWEEK

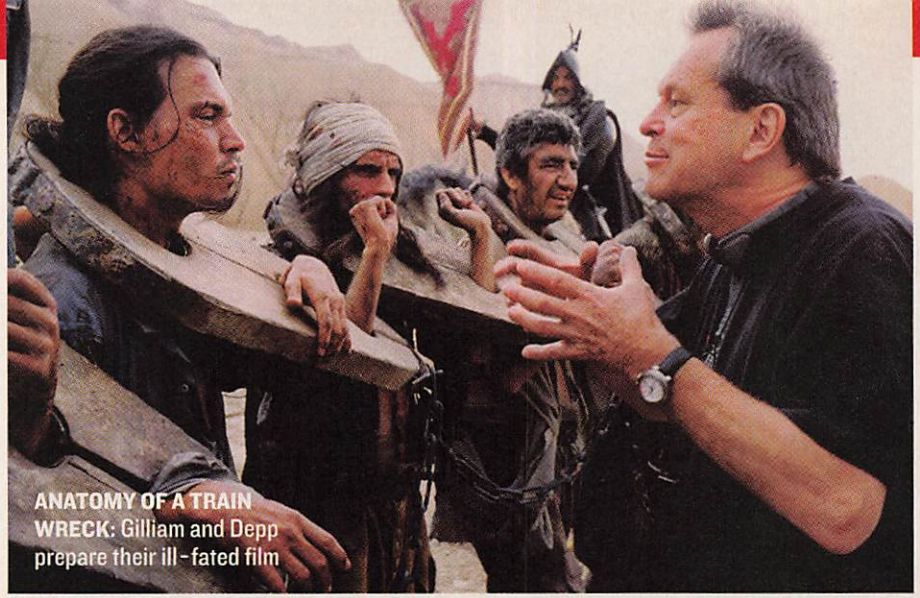
ting into, I probably wouldn't be sitting here," she says. "It's been seven years since I've been onstage. It's in my contract that I have to be carried on twice a week."

OK, that's a joke—Goldberg's default mode when something's bothering her. But get her talking about the past decade, and it's clear that the Whoopiness is only skin-deep. "Sometimes I think the lack of work is payback from the people who perceived me as being arrogant and difficult early on," she says. "But it's much more than that. I mean, in this industry if you are a woman who doesn't have that f—ability factor, you're not going to work a lot. I'm not sexy enough for those in power, and that limits the stuff I get considered for. I'd hoped early on to change that image of what made a woman sexy—particularly a black woman. I really thought my looks would say that it's OK to just be who you are and look the way you look, but nobody wanted to listen."

Goldberg had a particularly bad moment at last year's Academy Awards—which she was hosting for the third time—when Halle Berry gave her tearful acceptance speech as the first African-American woman to win a best-actress Oscar. Berry evoked the "nameless and faceless" women of color who'd gone before her, but didn't mention Goldberg, the last black actress to win an Oscar. "I was stunned and a little hurt, particularly since I was standing there," says Goldberg. "You figure, if she's not going to recognize me, why should anyone else?" She found some solace from a source you'd never expect. "I read the autobiography of Sid Caesar," she says, "and saw how much he doubted himself when things were rough, and it changed my whole perspective." But it's hard to imagine anything keeping Whoopi Goldberg down for long: this is a woman who's beaten both poverty and an early heroin addiction. And that laziness of hers? She's working on it. ■

'CHILD, IF I'D KNOWN WHAT I WAS GETTING INTO ...': Goldberg and Dutton in 'Ma Rainey'

JOAN MARCUS



ANATOMY OF A TRAIN WRECK: Gilliam and Depp prepare their ill-fated film

Bring On the Windmills

On the (un)making of Terry Gilliam's 'Don Quixote'

BY DAVID ANSEN

WHEN TERRY GILLIAM ATtempted to make his longtime dream project, a film of "Don Quixote," whatever could go wrong *did* go wrong. Luckily—and it was the only bit of good luck—documentary filmmakers Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe, their cameras rolling, witnessed every disastrous turn of the screw. The result, "Lost in La Mancha," is an excruciatingly entertaining portrait of the filmmaking process that no Hollywood studio would ever allow to be shown. But Gilliam, bless his impish, obsessive heart, is anything but a Hollywood type. Moreover, there was no production company trying to protect its product: Gilliam's ambitious movie, "The Man Who Killed Don Quixote," starring Jean Rochefort and Johnny Depp, was never finished. Indeed, it barely got started.

Gilliam has said that he always ends up re-enacting the film he is filming—as he films it. And the analogy between the filmmaker and the knight is irresistible. Gilliam sees visions no one else sees; he has made a career out of tilting at windmills and dreaming impossible dreams. He battled Universal to bring his amazing "Brazil" to the screen. His wild, overbudget "Adventures of Baron Munchausen" became a legendary commercial disaster, while his madcap "Twelve Monkeys" became an unexpected success. He's a fabulist who thinks big, and his visually baroque movies require ample financing. But eight weeks before production begins, his "Quixote" budget has already been whittled down from $40 million to $32 million—half of what he really needs—so there's no wiggle room in the shooting schedule. Everything has to go without a hitch. Nothing does.

"Lost in La Mancha" isn't the familiar story of an artist fighting a philistine system. There are no villains in this train wreck: it's a no-fault catastrophe. There is, however, bad planning, such as the choice of a Spanish "sound studio" that turns out to be a warehouse with horrendous acoustics. Or the location for the first day's shoot: right next to a NATO base where F-16s scream overhead. Then a hailstorm hits. *Then* it becomes clear that Rochefort, their 70-year-old Quixote, is in terrible physical pain. Barely able to walk from his horse to his car, the star is rushed off to his doctor in Paris. Filming stops. The European investors sweat, the insurance agent descends and the no-nonsense Australian assistant director, Frank Patterson—Gilliam's Sancho Panza—threatens to quit.

Lost in La Mancha

IFC Films

Open

Anyone who thinks making movies is easy needs to see this hilariously painful cautionary tale. It's a tribute to Gilliam that he never once took off his mike or asked the filmmakers to stop rolling. Still boyish and playful at 60, his mind teeming with ideas and enthusiasm, he maintains an extraordinary (if increasingly depressed) equilibrium as the captain of his sinking ship. It begins to seem there is a "Quixote curse." Orson Welles spent decades on his own "Don Quixote" and never finished. But even now Gilliam is trying to buy the rights back from the insurance company. If there's a windmill in sight, he's ready to tilt. ■

Back to the Future

The Columbian Exposition of 1893—complete with a mass murderer—foretold the fate of American cities

BY MALCOLM JONES

IF WE THINK OF THE CHICAGO World's Fair of 1893 at all, it is probably as fodder for some television quiz-show question: what do the Pledge of Allegiance, shredded wheat, the Ferris wheel and historian Frederick Jackson Turner's "closing of the frontier" speech have in common? (Answer: they all made their debuts there.) At the time of its creation, though, the fair was anything but trivial. France had wowed the world with its fair in 1889, at which Alexandre Gustave Eiffel unveiled his tower. The Chicago fair, timed to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's voyage, would be America's chance to prove that, technologically and culturally, it could eat at the grown-ups' table. The fair's directors gambled everything. And they won, seducing the world with the architecture of Louis Sullivan and the technology of Edison. But as Erik Larson shows so entertainingly in "The Devil in the White City," it almost didn't happen.

Bad weather, a national depression and the deep-seated scorn of Easterners for the meat-packing Windy City nearly doomed the fair's chances. About all Chicago had going for it was the energy and seductive charm of its leading architect, Daniel Burnham. Burnham wooed the cream of American architects to help design the fair. He persuaded Frederick Law Olmsted, the father of Central Park, to design the grounds. And lest anyone felt like complaining about the results (almost no one did), there was engineer George Ferris's amazing new wheel revolving out there on the midway.

The Devil in the White City

Erik Larson
(Crown)

GRANGER COLLECTION

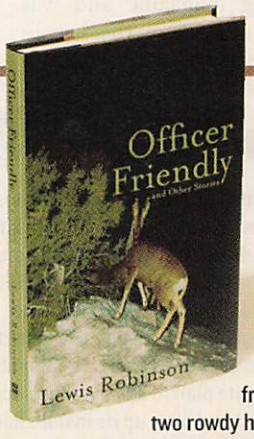
MIDWEST MARVELS: The administration and electrical buildings

Against this story of visionary success, Larson counterposes the dark tale of Dr. H. H. Holmes, a serial killer who preyed on young women drawn to Chicago by the fair. Once in custody, Holmes claimed to have murdered 27 people. While Burnham was constructing his White City by the lake, Holmes was building a hotel with a gas chamber and a cremating kiln in the basement. To Larson, Holmes was Burnham's dark twin, but the author doesn't overwork the conceit. He doesn't have to. "Each embodied an element," Larson says, "of the great dynamic that characterized the rush of America toward the 20th century." You know the rest.

Lamentably, Larson the entertainer almost sells out Larson the historian. Only in the notes at the back of the book does he admit that the chapters describing Holmes's murders are merely conjecture built on a handful of facts. In his eagerness to beguile us with a good story, he squanders our trust. But not even this grave misstep can't doom his book, because the story of the fair and its effect on American life is simply too enchanting.

The Columbian Exposition cemented Americans' love affair with technology. In the summer that the fair glittered dreamlike on the lake (arsonists burned most of the buildings shortly after it closed), millions saw, among other marvels, the comparative safety of electricity and the assurance of clean water—no small things to people who had seen their city razed by fire in 1871 and watched as 10 percent of the population died of cholera in 1885. The fair showed what a city could be, and whether we know it or not, we still live with its legacy. ■

A First-Timer Whose Aim Is True



Lewis Robinson's first book, "Officer Friendly" (*HarperCollins*), is a quirky, suspenseful little volume of stories so rich with strange characters and twists and turns of plot that it doesn't feel like a short-story collection at all: it feels like a film festival. In the title story, set, like all the others, in or around the fictional Point Allison, Maine, two high-school buddies are shooting off bottle rockets in a parking lot when a fat policeman accosts them: "I couldn't believe it. He actually yelled 'Freeze!' ... We knew all the cops in Point Allison. They were subpar." The guys run. The cop chases them, but his ticker isn't up to the challenge. Suddenly, he's sprawled in the snow and the kids are trying to figure out if he's going to die—and if they care.

Robinson's characters are often blindsided by life-or-death decisions, and the humor of his stories tends to give way to something deeper and creepier. In "The Diver," for instance, a husband offers a local $50 to untangle his yacht's propeller, and realizes how menacing the man is only when the guy's on his boat, leering at his wife and asking to hold his baby.

Ian McEwan might have written a story like "The Diver" 25 years ago, and ended it with a sea of blood. But Robinson is a more humane writer than that—less interested in shocks, more interested in how narrowly, and frequently, we escape tragedy. A few stories in "Officer Friendly" are subpar—and too often Robinson hooks up a basically decent maincharacter with somebody delusional just to see what happens. But rough patches are the price of admission for anybody's first book. Robinson writes ruefully about the gulf between fathers and sons (in "Ride," a trucker celebrates his kid's birthday by dragging him into a lame scheme to steal a painting) and between friends (in "Puckheads," two rowdy high-school hockey players are forced to act in a production of "Oliver!"). You wouldn't want to live in Point Allison, but Robinson makes it hard to leave.

-JEFF GILES

'I Wanted to Be Here All Of the Time'

A writer's account of a decade on the mean streets

BY MICHAEL J. AGOVINO

ADRIAN NICOLE LEBLANC IS walking through rancid streets in the central-west Bronx, pointing out the sights. "A woman over there sells ice pops from her window," she says. "And someone here charges a quarter for people to use her bathroom." LeBlanc has written a remarkable new book called "Random Family" *(Scribner)*, the product of 11 years of hanging out and reporting in this neighborhood. "I was trying to feel what life felt like," says LeBlanc, 39, "and I found a place where I felt incredibly comfortable and immensely curious and totally engaged and just wanted to be here all of the time."

"Random Family" is structured around the lives of two charismatic and troubled local matriarchs, Foxy and Lourdes, both grandmothers by the age of 35. There's the love story of Foxy's big-hearted, self-defeating daughter Coco and Lourdes's petulant, hypermacho son Cesar, whose searing temper lands him in jail. Ten jails, actually. Another of Lourdes's kids, Jessica, has a relationship with Boy George, who reads Yachting magazine and was clearing $100,000 a week in the heroin business by the time he was 21. It's a keenly observed, pitch-perfect account of a world so grim that the line "Good news, Daddy's in Rikers" makes perfect sense. Yet it's also a world of great generosity, where people share everything from whatever's in the refrigerator to a $70,000 personal-injury settlement.

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN DOBEN FOR NEWSWEEK

DELINEATING A WORLD BOTH GRIM AND GENEROUS: LeBlanc

It was Boy George who got LeBlanc started on her project when she wrote about him for Rolling Stone in 1989. When he introduced her to Jessica and Jessica introduced her to Coco, she knew she had a book, and that it had to be about the women. "I was struck by the fact that you could write about men and not write much about women," she says, "but there was no way to write about women without having to write about men."

To support herself, LeBlanc did magazine pieces and won grants and fellowships. But eventually the money ran out. "So in 1998," she says, "I just decided to go into debt." It paid off. What separates "Random Family" from other accounts of inner-city "pathology" is how vivid she makes her characters, in their faults as much as in their virtues. They can be infuriating—she's pregnant again, they're back together again, he quit school again. But they never blame anyone or anything—their parents, their environment, the dearth of opportunity to enter the American mainstream. Instead they hold themselves accountable and move on, or try to. It becomes a thick, dense, rich narrative: literary anthropology that reads like a novel.

On the crowded No. 2 train back to Manhattan, LeBlanc watches a man cleaning his fingernails with a box cutter. Fertile and complicated as this world is, isn't she secretly relieved to be out of there? She shakes her head. "I feel like I could write this story for the rest of my life," she says. "People say, 'You must be so glad it's over.' I'm relieved, but secretly I'd love to write about it for another 10 years." ■

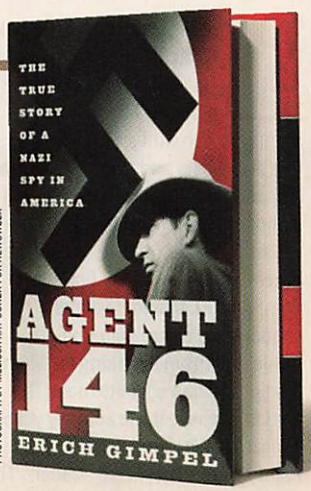
An Eerily Timely Tale of Fanaticism

A foreign agent slips into the United States with deadly intent, and finds the country scarily easy to penetrate. A troubled young American defects to the enemy. No, this isn't a 9-11 tale. It's about World War II—Nov. 29, 1944, to be exact—when German agent Erich Gimpel and defector William Colepaugh were deposited by a U-boat on the Maine coast in a desperate plan to discover the secrets of the Manhattan Project and blow up its installations.

Captured in New York because of Colepaugh's bumbling and betrayal, Gimpel tells his story in "Agent 146" *(St. Martin's)*. Originally published in Germany and Britain in 1957, it's now released for the first time in the United States. Both men had been sentenced to hang in 1945, but were given last-minute pardons. After a decade in American prisons, Gimpel returned to Germany and wrote up his exploits with an Ian Fleming flair.

Gimpel portrays himself as a master spy who knows "nothing of politics." But here was a clever agent willing to concoct any scheme—even blowing up the Panama Canal—to win the war for Hitler. Writing in the mid-1950s, he directed all his anger at those who undercut or betrayed him, still proud of what he might have done. Gimpel, now 92, is alive, whereabouts unknown, and probably still convinced of his virtue. That, as much as his ability to elude sloppy surveillance, is a chilling parallel to today's headlines.

–ANDREW NAGORSKI



PHOTOGRAPH BY MELISSA KAY COHEN FOR NEWSWEEK

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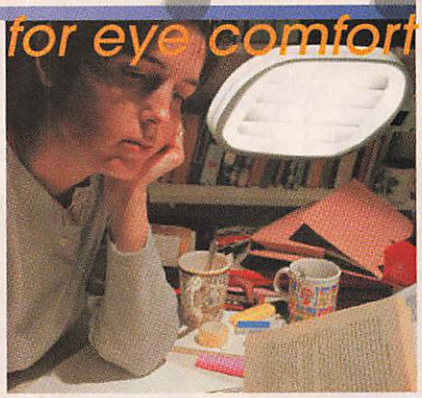

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Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eye strain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now VERILUX®, a leader in healthy lighting since 1956 has developed a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

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The VERILUX® HappyEyes® Floor Lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, VERILUX, The Healthy Lighting Company™, created the VERILUX HappyEyes Floor Lamp that simulates the balanced spectrum of daylight. You will see with more comfort and ease as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain. Its 27-watt compact fluorescent bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing and needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes. For artists, the VERILUX HappyEyes Floor Lamp can bring a source of natural light into a studio, and show the true colors of a work. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, and an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high fidelity electronics, ergonomically correct design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-see.

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—Jan L. GA

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—Nita P. CA

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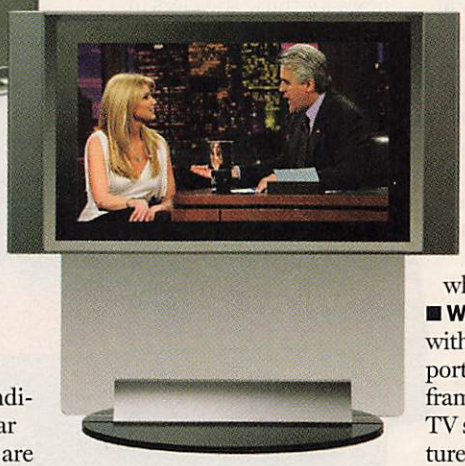
The Tip Sheet

Smart Strategies for Your Money, Health, Family, Technology, Design, Real Estate, Travel

ZENITH 56-INCH REAR PROJECTION
Zenith's monolithic set offers a crystal-clear picture, but it takes up a lot of space.
$2,199

HITACHI 50-INCH PLASMA
Thin is in, and Hitachi leads the way with this relatively well-priced flat-panel set.
$12,500



SONY 30-INCH LCD
An alternative to plasma, liquid-crystal-display sets are coming into their own.
$6,000

TECHNOLOGY

HDTV—TIME TO TAKE A LOOK

BY PETER SUCIU AND N'GAI CROAL

SIX YEARS AGO THE FCC promised that all television broadcasts would be in high definition, or HD, by 2006. Yet what seemed like a sprint toward the future turned into a crawl as Hollywood studios, TV manufacturers and cable companies battled over issues like technology standards, compatibility and copy protection. But in December cable operators and TV makers agreed on a plug-and-play standard for set-top boxes, which means HDTV, which offers twice the resolution of today's broadcasts, could finally be right around the corner. If you think you might be ready, here's our HDTV primer.

■ **What is HD?** Your television picture is made up of 480 individual scan lines for a regular broadcast. These scan lines are interlaced, meaning the odd-numbered lines are drawn first, followed by the even-numbered lines; since the process takes place so quickly, we perceive a normal image. But interlacing also produces flickering along horizontal edges and jagged lines on moving objects. HD, by contrast, not only offers increased resolutions of 720 and 1,080 scan lines—more lines equals more detail—but it also produces noninterlaced images, more commonly known as progressive scan, a process that draws the entire frame at once for a crisper image. A true HD set will support both 720 and 1,080, so be sure to ask at the store.

■ **How much programming is available in HD?** ABC and CBS are broadcasting their entire prime-time schedule—three hours a night, five days a week—in HD. NBC is offering only 10 hours of prime time in HD, along with "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno." And all three networks are showing certain high-profile sports events, like the NFL and NBA playoffs. Got HBO or Showtime? If you're lucky enough to be a subscriber in an area that supports them, both cable outlets offer HD channels. And if you're looking for something a tad more educational, PBS and the Discovery Channel have some HD programming as well. So if you take the plunge, rest assured there will be something for you to watch; just be sure to check with your local cable provider or satellite company to see what's available.

■ **Widescreen or standard?** Along with improved quality, HD supports a wider, more cinematic frame (16:9) than traditional TV sets (4:3). Clearly, the future of television is widescreen, which offers the added bonus of being able to watch DVDs without the black bars required for letterboxed images. There are a couple of drawbacks, however. Widescreen sets are more ex-

Newsweek MSNBC Read what we wrote on HDTV back in 1988 on Newsweek.MSNBC.com

FIREWOOD | A BUYER'S GUIDE

Nothing says winter like a roaring fire. But to keep that blaze crackling, you need well-seasoned wood with low moisture content. For best results, let wood stand in your yard for a year before burning. But if your hearth needs warming now, Tip Sheet's Katherine Stroup says stick with these reliable wood sellers:

FRUITWOOD Available at 800drywood.com. 70 lbs. of apple wood costs $49.95; peach wood runs $69.95.
Good for: More expensive than standard firewood, but when burned, the wood from fruit trees gives off a subtle, juicy smell. Also perfect for cooking over an open fire, giving dishes a distinct down-home tang. Or use fruitwood chips to smoke meat.

BIRCH LOGS Buy them at firewood.com. For $53 you'll get a 40-lb. case; that's 3 to 5 logs, each about 16 in. long.
Good for: This premium hardwood's known as "the Cadillac of firewood." It lights easily and produces a near-continuous flame (no annoying flickering). And, oh yeah, the white logs look great stacked next to the hearth.

FATWOOD $19 at LLBean.com. The 7-lb. basket of fatwood's a great housewarming gift (literally).
Good for: Forget those Duraflame logs. This is nature's perfect kindling. With high resin content, a few sticks of pine fatwood have any fire blazing in seconds—and it burns relatively long, so you won't have to keep fiddling. Also good for wood stoves and campfires.

FROM TOP: ROBERT VOETS—CBS, EZRA SHAW—GETTY IMAGES, PAUL DRINKWATER—NBC, PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK (3)

pensive, and they display traditional 4:3 TV programming with gray bars on the sides, a process called windowboxing. We say widescreen is the most future-proof option.

■ **Thin(ner) or cheap(er)?** It all depends on how much money you have to spend and how much space you have. There are five technologies available today: CRT (cathode-ray tubes, the same technology behind regular TVs), LCD (liquid-crystal displays, found most commonly in laptops), DLP (digital light processing), rear projection and plasma. CRT sets become extremely heavy at larger sizes, so they top out at about 32 inches. This has made rear-projection TVs a popular option, as they go up to 72 inches diagonally. But rear-projection sets also get deeper at larger sizes, so you'd better have a lot of room. DLP sets are slimmer than CRT or rear projection, but they aren't thin. For flat-panel HDTVs, your choices are plasma, which goes up to 63 inches, or LCD, which tops out at 42 inches, and is pound for pound the most expensive of all the technologies. One last caveat: if you play videogames or watch channels like Headline News that have a lot of static text and graphics, you run the risk of having those images burned permanently into the screens of rear-projection and plasma sets, so be sure to choose among CRT, DLP or LCD. Happy hunting.

TRAVEL

CLICK FOR SHORTCUT

IT'S LIKE BUTTING IN LINE, but you get to do it in the privacy of your home, and without all the nasty looks. US Airways now allows e-ticket passengers to check in for flights online at **usairways.com** and print their own boarding passes before they pack up and head to the airport. That's particularly good news for those travelers in a hurry with only carry-on luggage who want to head straight for the gate. After all, many airports no longer allow passengers past security unless they already have boarding passes with them. US Airways lets you print boarding passes at home from six hours to 90 minutes before your flight. Other airlines offering this print-your-own-pass service include Northwest (**nwa.com**) and Delta (**delta.com**), although it's not available on all flights. And airlines allow different check-in times—Northwest's begins 30 hours before a flight. A tip: if you must check baggage, do it curbside. Otherwise you'll get stuck waiting in line at the ticket gate anyway, in spite of your home-made pass.

–LINDA STERN

ROAD TEST | VW EUROVAN

IF IT'S ROCKING ...

When I was a kid, I lived up the street from real hippies who trod barefoot, listened to the Strawberry Alarm Clock and plastered their VW bus with flower-power stickers. But the VW Eurovan doesn't look anything like old magic buses; the white number I drove looked like a refrigerator tipped on its side. Then again, unlike the old designs with wafer-thin front ends, this one didn't make me feel my knees would be the first line of defense in a collision. The Eurovan boasts a ballsy six-cylinder, fuel-injected, 2.8-liter, four-speed engine. Its handling is superb—a boon in city traffic—and visibility is excellent when passing or backing up. The car I drove had the $3,335 Weekender option, which includes a pop-up roof with a two-person bed, a small refrigerator and side windows with screens. During one road trip, I pulled over for a quick nap, and it actually wasn't bad. And when I came out of a store I found that someone had drawn a peace sign in the light dusting of snow on the rear window. –JOSH MAX

VW Eurovan
Electronic climate control, four-speed automatic transmission, ABS brakes, 20mpg highway
$27,700
vw.com

To suggest a Road Test, log on to Newsweek.MSNBC.com and click on Tip Sheet.

HEALTH

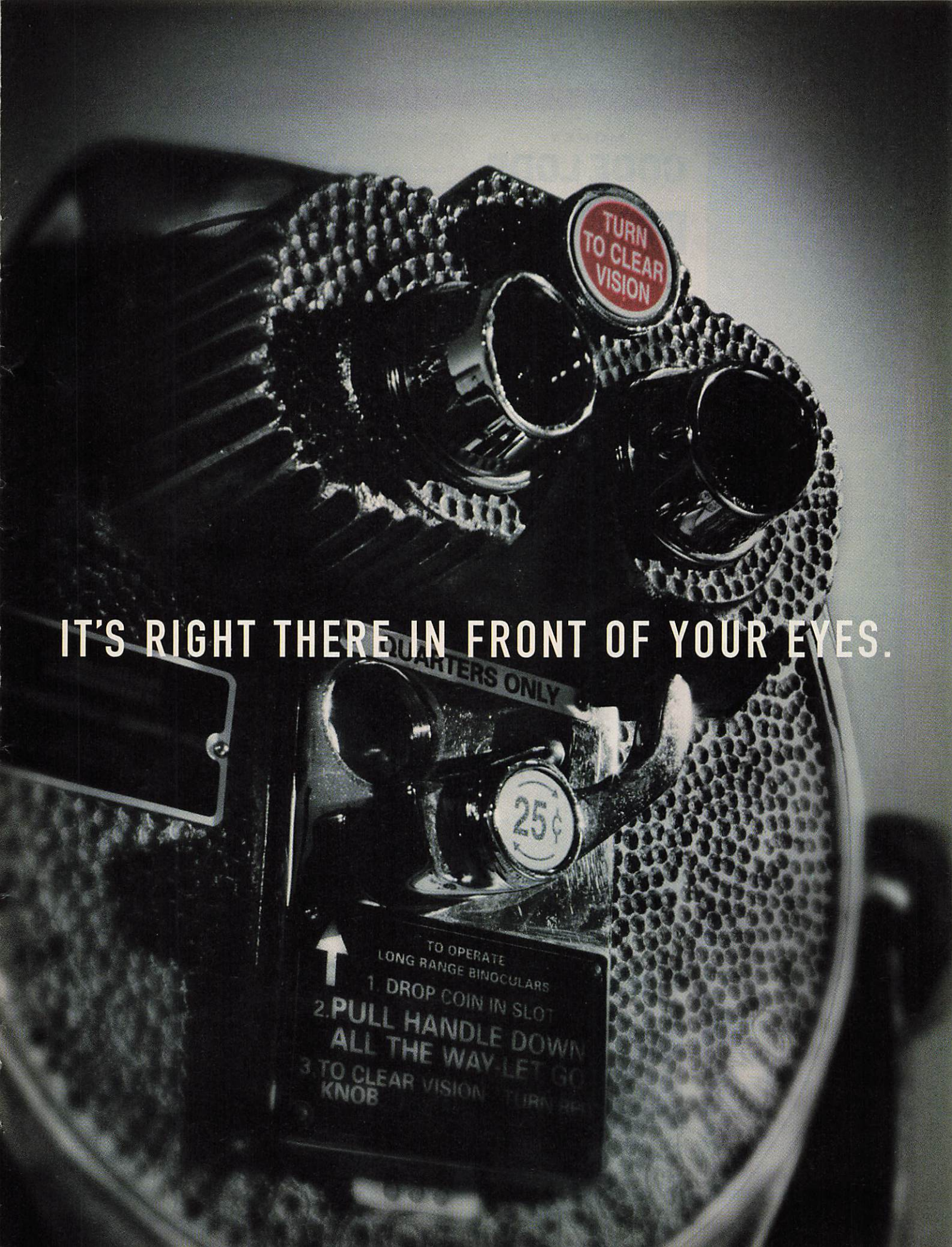
A COLD OR THE FLU?

IT STARTS WITH THE SNIFFLES and a scratchy throat. Soon your throat is full-on sore, your head is pounding and you're coughing like someone with consumption. Is it a common cold or the more sinister flu? The three S's—stuffy nose, sore throat and sneezing—usually signify a cold. Got a bad cough, aches and pains, fever and fatigue? You've probably got influenza. Each year about

114,000 Americans are hospitalized and 20,000 die because of the flu (out of 35 million to 50 million Americans who catch it), according to the Centers for Disease Control. Ask your doctor about vaccines still available that can protect against the season's most popular strains. Washing your hands often can help, too, but your chances of catching the flu also vary by location. Check **weather.com** or Roche Laboratories' **flustar.com** to get a flu report for your area. Already got symptoms? Over-the-counter medications can make you feel better, but they aren't for everyone (read the warning labels). Or call your doctor for prescription drugs like Relenza or Tamiflu. Taken within the first 48 hours, they can ease symptoms. Just make sure to hold on to your Kleenex—the flu season usually ends by April, but you can catch a cold all year long.

–JENNIFER BARRETT

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: ILLUSTRATION BY INGO FAST, CREATAS, NO CREDIT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GETAWAYS | RACE FOR SURVIVAL

Sea turtles are in trouble, but turtle tourism is growing fast, and raising awareness. Watch hatchlings make their way to the sea at these spots:

Florida Coast
Loggerheads nest in a national wildlife refuge a short drive from Orlando or Miami. For night trips in June and July, call Sebastian Inlet State Park, 321-984-4852.

Padre Island, Texas
Kemp's ridley turtles lay eggs in the middle of the day from April through early summer. For times and locations, call the Hatchling Hotline at 361-949-7163.

Tortuguero, Costa Rica
Stay up late with biologists and half-ton leatherbacks. For a few nights at a private reserve, go to adventure-life.com ($1,195, including a rain-forest tour).

La Flor, Nicaragua
Ditch the crowds in Costa Rica and rough it in a rented bungalow. Watch thousands of olive ridleys swarm between July and December. Playaelcoco.com.ni.

Zululand, South Africa
Ogle several turtle species. Egg laying begins in October, and the last hatchlings hit the waves in February. Go to zululand.kzn.org.za.

-DEBRA A. KLEIN

MONEY

CODE LODE

PSSST! WANT THE SECRET pass code? Online shoppers who hate having nothing to type into those ENTER DISCOUNT CODE HERE spaces can now fill in the blanks and save. A slew of Web sites act as clearinghouses for those codes; it helps to check them before you go shopping because new deals get posted daily. Here are the busiest ones with some of their latest deals: **Bargainboardwalk.com**: 15 percent off flowers for Valentine's Day at **1800Flowers.com**. **24houredeals.com**: 10 to 15 percent off Perfumania. **Online-coupon-code.com**: $20 off $80 at J. Crew. **Fatwallet.com**: $10 off $50 at Delia's. **DealCatcher.com**: 10 percent off at the Gap.

-LINDA STERN

UNCORKED | BEST BUYS

These days, it's easy to drop $100 for a good California Cabernet. Sure, prices have risen to scary heights, but you can still track down plenty of great bargains. These five finds, from five different countries, all cost $11 or less. At these prices, it's easy to explore the world of wine.

Score/price

90 / $10 **Paringa Shiraz South Australia Individual Vineyard 2001** This good-value Shiraz (a.k.a. Syrah) is one of Australia's best—smooth, generous and fruity.

88 / $10 **E. Guigal Côtes du Rhône 2000** From Guigal, one of the Rhone Valley's best producers, comes this powerful blend, with distinctive flavors of minerals and earth.

87 / $11 **Casa Lapostolle Merlot Rapel Valley 2001** Chile's known for its good yet inexpensive wines. If you like raspberries and cocoa, this luscious merlot is for you.

87 / $7 **Marqués de Riscal Rueda 2000** Spain's bargain indigenous wines are distinctive and alluring—like this smooth white with pear and almond flavors.

87 / $11 **Meridian Chardonnay Santa Barbara County 2000** From California's cooler central coast region, this one's ripe yet elegant, with just enough oak for balance.

Wine Spectator

Wine Spectator rates wines on the 100-point scale; all wines are blind-tasted. Prices are those suggested by producers or importers. For more information visit winespectator.com.

BRUSH UP YOUR SHAKESPEARE: A Washington, D.C., tutoring session

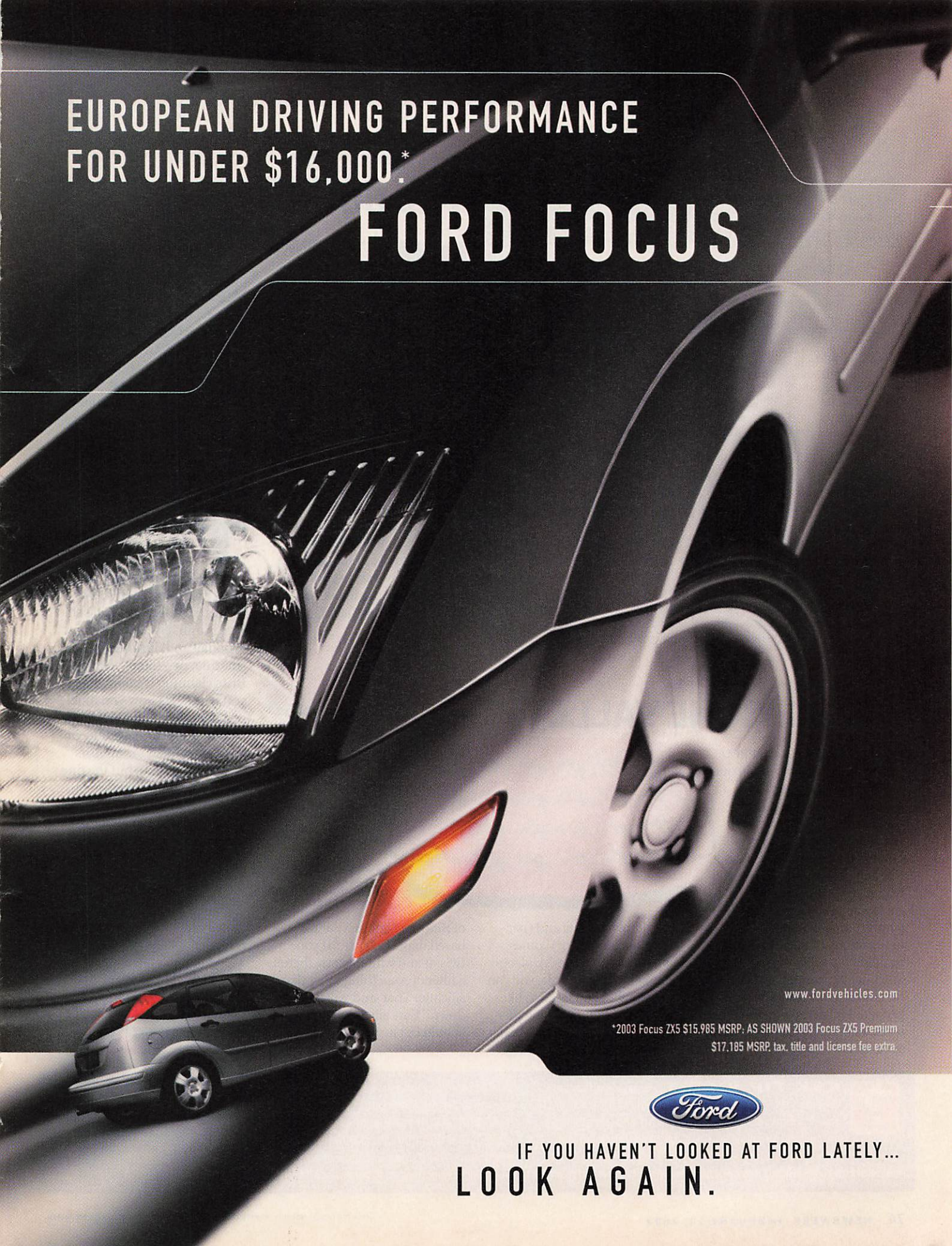
FAMILY

WHEN TO HIRE A TUTOR

LET'S GET ONE THING straight: no child—not even the biggest bookworm—gets every lesson the first time around. An addition whiz gets baffled by multiplication; a gifted writer can't make it through "Huck Finn." But when are these educational growing pains the sign of something more substantial? When does your child need a tutor? It's hard to diagnose learning problems before the third grade, since all kids develop at different rates. So don't be pressured by other parents and the "everybody's doing it" mentality, says Thom Redicks, membership chair of the National Tutoring Association (**nta.org**). Talk to your child's teacher or principal—ask open-ended questions like "What should we do?" not "Don't you think Johnny needs a tutor?" If they feel tutoring would be a good step, it's time to meet with the guidance counselor—see if there are free peer- or volunteer-staffed programs offered at the school, and if not, get suggestions of experienced tutors in the neighborhood. (You could always go with for-profit chains, though their services may be less personalized.) Most schools keep a list of tutors who've had good results in the past; expect to pay $30 to $40 an hour, though some charge upwards of $150. Children's needs vary, but for students experiencing serious academic difficulties, arrange for consistent, twice-a-week appointments lasting an hour each. Check in with the tutor at least once a month, and, to be safe, make sure the sessions are in a public place or main room in the house. Then relax. Most kids really enjoy tutoring—where they are, after all, the center of attention.

-KAREN SPRINGEN

FROM TOP: MICHAEL PATRICK O'NEILL—PHOTO RESEARCHERS, PHOTOGRAPH BY MELISSA KAY COHEN FOR NEWSWEEK, TOM WILLIAMS—ROLL CALL, KEVIN SCHAFER—CORBIS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LOOK AGAIN.

TipSheet

CHEAT SHEET | TEEN MAGAZINES

Five years ago, preteen girls had two options, YM or Seventeen. Now there's a whole gaggle of girlie mags, like the just-launched Teen Vogue. The focus has shifted from boys to fashion, but is lusting over a Marc Jacobs jacket more admirable than lusting over Orlando Bloom? Tip Sheet's Katherine Stroup helps you figure which is best for your kid:

Teen Vogue
10 ISSUES A YEAR
$10
Aimed at: The FIT (fashionista in training)
Pros: The crisp design and small format, so it's easy to hide during class
Cons: The over-wrought fashion spreads. It's impossible to imagine any of these clothes on a real live teen.

ELLEgirl
BIMONTHLY
$7.47
Aimed at: Off-beat, street chics
Pros: The international flair, cheap 'Wish Lists' and fashion flipbook, the best feature in any mag this month
Cons: The cluttered, designed-by-a-yearbook-staff page layouts

CosmoGIRL
10 ISSUES A YEAR
$8
Aimed at: The Cosmo reader's younger (chaster) sister
Pros: Even with 'Cosmo' in the name and Christina on the cover, there's still no raunchy sex talk. (Trust us.)
Cons: The dull fashion and beyond-bland prom-gown picks

Teen People
10 ISSUES A YEAR
$15.97
Aimed at: Celeb-savvy 'TRL' fans
Pros: The professional feel (it's been around longer, and you can tell). Don't miss the series on teen drug use.
Cons: The annoying use of 'thought bubbles' next to stars' photos

TRENDS

DON'T FEEL THE BURN

MOST MEN THINK of shaving as a torturous, blood-soaked ritual. Which is too bad—shaving's actually the main reason men's skin needs less care than women's, says Dr. Jeffrey Dover, a dermatology professor at Yale's med school. (The razor exfoliates, keeping pores unclogged.) And there are a growing number of high-end products that'll make your morning shave something to look forward to. Tip Sheet's picks: Art of Shaving's our favorite overall brand—try its Pre-Shave Oil ($22); Anthony Logistics for Men's Razor Burn Repair uses marshmallows and St. John's wort ($22); American Crew's soothing Herbal Shave Cream doesn't need a brush ($7.95); Nickel's Fire Insurance is a great after-shave if you get past the silly name ($30); or go with Creed's pricey Green Irish Tweed Aftershave Lotion ($50). Just don't mix and match scents. You'll smell like a schizophrenic.

-SETH MNOOKIN

MUST SEE

HIDE IT!

THE "LIFE COACHES" telling you to love your body? Forget 'em. Most women have spent years analyzing their flabby bellies, so unconditional self-love is unlikely. Enter Trinny Woodall and Susannah Constantine, two tough-loving Brits claiming it's not what you've got, it's how you hide it. Their TV show, "What Not to Wear," is cruel (fashion victims are stalked for months on hidden video), but the duo's harsh "tips" are always spot on. Watch it on BBC America, or go to **amazon.co.uk** for the companion book—with useful chapters like "No Tits" and "Thick Ankles."

-K.S.

HOME

IT'S SILICONE VALLEY

MAGICO TORTILLA PAN
A hit at housewares shows, 'steamer' warms tortillas to perfection. $24.99

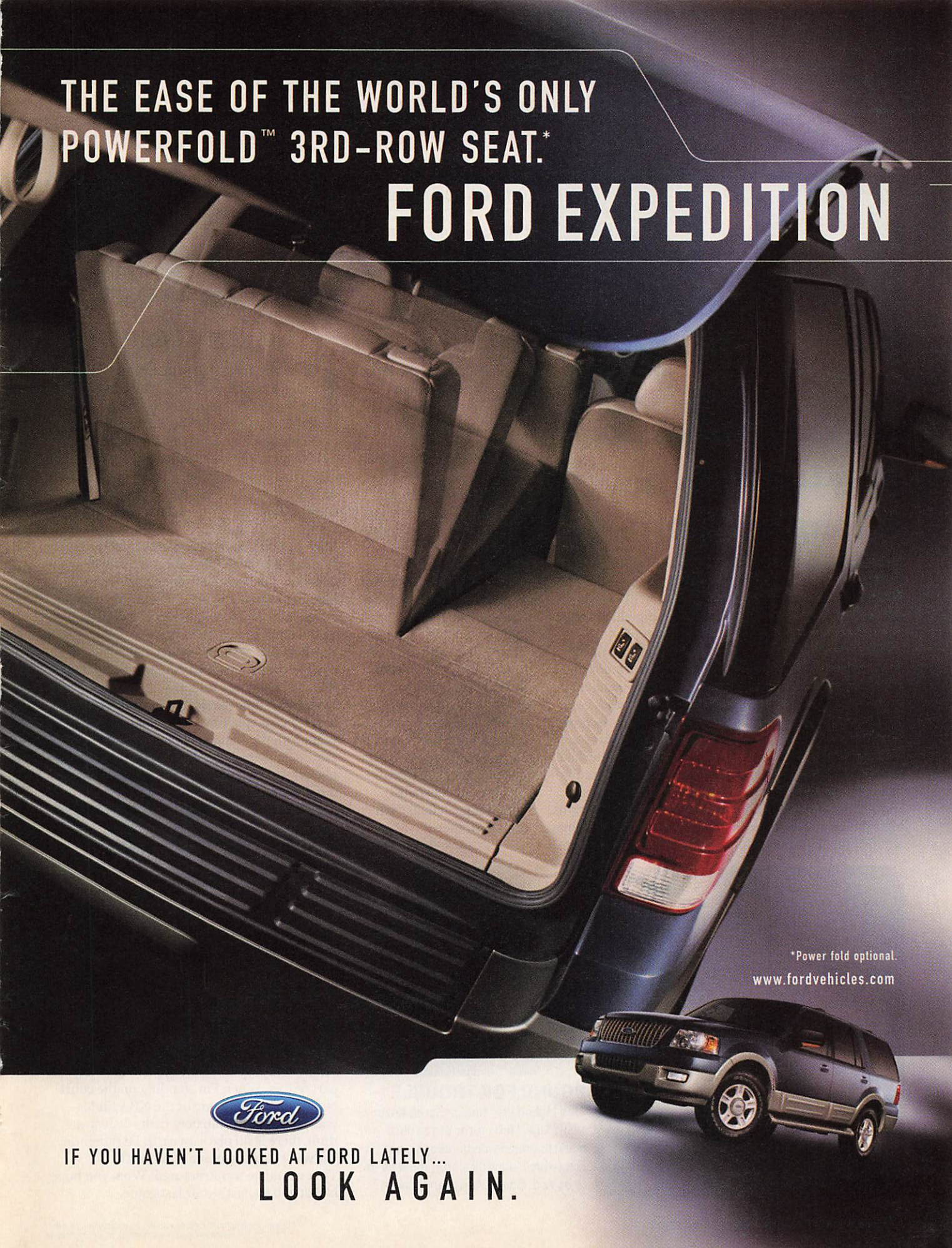
KITCHENAID MUFFIN PAN
The metal 'sled' keeps you from making a mini mess while you pour the batter. $19.99

WE ALL FLIPPED for those silicone spatulas and burnproof baking mats that trickled in from France a few years back. Craving more? Now well-known brands like KitchenAid and Pedrini are introducing entire lines of silicone cookware, from the practical (muffin "tins" and pot grabbers) to the utterly esoteric (pancake molds and tortilla warmers). Silicone, it turns out, is great for cooking: nonstick and ovenproof to 500 degrees Fahrenheit, it also conducts heat evenly, never rusts, is dishwasher-, freezer- and microwave-safe and (perhaps most important) comes in lots of pretty colors. And, because silicone is flexible, you can pop out cakes and muffins like ice cubes. When shopping for silicone cookware, use the "twist test," says Michael Karyo, CEO of SiliconeZone, a New York-based manufacturer. "If you twist it and white shows, there's a filler of something other than silicone. That stuff will break down." Pure silicone, though, should last a lifetime.

-JENNIFER TANAKA

ASK TIP SHEET: Is paying off my student loan tax-deductible? -HOA HUYNH, SANTA ANA, CALIF.
Yes, but how much you can write off depends on how much you rake in. If you're single and your adjusted gross income—plus foreign income—is $50,000 or less, you can write off up to $2,500 of the interest you paid last year on a qualified loan. (Your loan is "qualified" if you were enrolled at least half time toward a degree at an eligible school.) If you file with a spouse, you two must make under $100,000 total. If you just miss those cutoffs, don't fret. As long as you make under $65,000 ($130,000 for couples), you're eligible for a smaller deduction. You'll find a worksheet with your tax forms. -TEMMA EHRENFELD
To submit a question, go to Newsweek.MSNBC.com and click on Tip Sheet.

FROM TOP: CREATAS, NO CREDIT (4), PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK (2), BBC AMERICA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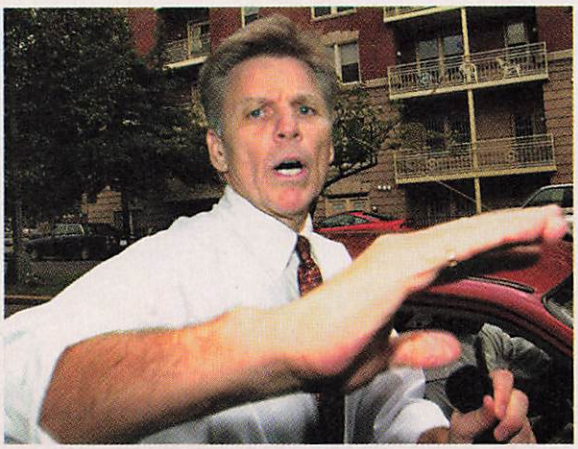
LOOK AGAIN.

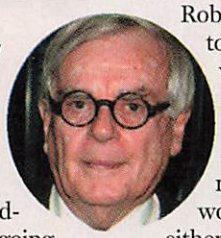
Newsmakers

23 Miles of Central Park sidewalks to be lined with orange fabric by conceptual artist Christo in 2005



EMPTY SUIT? Condit (left) versus Dunne (below)

Psst—Wanna Buy A Tangled Yarn?

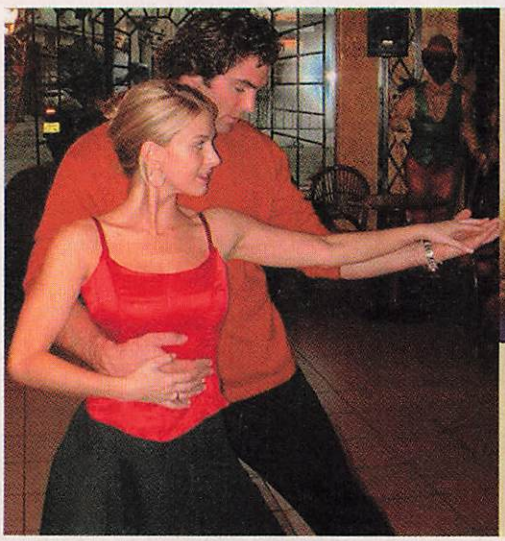


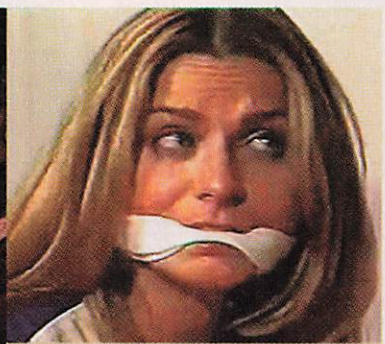
SUPPOSE SOMEone you didn't know told you that a pimp from Dubai heard that Gary Condit had told somebody at some Arab embassy that he was trying to get rid of a girlfriend—and that the pimp later heard her body had been dropped from a plane into the ocean. Would you believe it? Though Vanity Fair columnist Dominick Dunne, chronicler of both high-profile murder trials and Dominick Dunne, said he couldn't vouch for the tale, that didn't keep him from going on Laura Ingraham's radio show to share it.

Now Condit is suing Dunne for $11 million, and the tale is being repeated—in Condit's complaint. He'll have to prove Dunne's statements were false and that Dunne had reckless disregard for the truth, says First Amendment lawyer David Schulz. Dunne's defense will hinge on having some reason to believe the story. (Dunne declined to comment.) It can't help that Chandra Levy's body was later found in Rock Creek Park.

The source appears to be animal trainer Monty Roberts, whom his Web site calls "the man who listens to horses." (That makes Dunne the man who listens to the man who listens to horses.) Roberts also claims to be the horse whisperer on whom Nicholas Evans based his eponymous novel. (Evans wouldn't comment either.) Because of the lawsuit, Roberts refused to discuss details, but confirmed through an assistant that "there was communication between Dominick Dunne and Monty Roberts." "Dominick Dunne," said Vanity Fair editor Graydon Carter in a prepared statement, "is a unique journalist with unique talents." No argument there.

–SUSANNAH MEADOWS





BOUND FOR TROUBLE
"Joe Millionaire" finalist Sarah Kozer (with "Joe," left) turns out to have made bondage videos (above), and Fox (which knew all along) must be fit to be tied. Gosh, will anyone tune in?

MARV ALBERT

IT'S BEEN 40 YEARS SINCE MARV ALBERT called a New York Knicks game as a fill-in for Marty Glickman. Today, at 59, that kinky 1997 sex scandal (biting, not bondage) long behind him, he may be the busiest and best-known sports broadcaster. Last month he called the Super Bowl on radio; this Sunday, on TNT, he will call his 10th NBA All-Star Game. Albert went one-on-one with NEWSWEEK's Mark Starr:

After 40 years, do you worry about losing a step?
I think I'll know if I do. At times my wife wonders how I maintain the energy level. But I just love it so much. When you travel around, people are always coming up and doing a "Yes!" I find it very flattering.

You don't ever get bored with the job?
Only in the off-air conversations with Mike Fratello. Those are tough.

Which sport is the hardest to broadcast?
Hockey radio play-by-play, which I did for 25 years with the Rangers, is very tough. Even more so now because of the speed and all the players wearing helmets. Baseball isn't tough, but it's hard to fill all that time.

How hard is it to bid farewell to Michael Jordan?
You know, if it weren't Michael Jordan, with the whole aura and image, he could probably play another two years. But it's obviously not the same Michael Jordan, and I think he knows it's really time to say goodbye.

What'll you say when he walks off the last time?
The moment has to be geared by what he does. I remember when he broke down in the locker room after winning the championship, when his father had been killed. You've got to let it play out, and put captions on the pictures. If you plan it in advance it's too formatted. It's not good.

How about your own last game?
I'll probably say how fortunate I've been to be part of this. When I'm standing on the court before an all-star game or the NBA Finals—you have that little anxiety rush—I always think there is no place on earth I'd rather be.

You won't go out with one final "Yes!"
That would be too structured. What you hope is that you *know* it's your last game.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: STEPHEN J. BOITANO—AP, JIM SPELLMAN—WIREIMAGE, EVAN AGOSTINI-LIAISON—GETTY IMAGES, THE SMOKING GUN, FOX

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IF YOU HAVEN'T LOOKED AT FORD LATELY...

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Here's to the Little People

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK

MOST AMERICANS COULD BE FORGIVEN SOME confusion during the State of the Union address when the president said solemnly, as though he were reciting a key section of the Constitution, "I ask you to end the unfair double taxation of dividends."

Given the price of gas, the price of meat and the price of a teenager's North Face jacket, the average citizen had probably not focused as closely as George W. Bush on that particular financial hardship. The linchpin of the president's so-called economic-stimulus package has been ditching taxes on corporate dividends. By all statistical measures this is a gift to the affluent, and it's generally agreed in Washington that it's a nonstarter from a legislative point of view. But it showed up in the big speech nevertheless, along with worthier initiatives like AIDS relief for Africa and more pressing issues like the case against Saddam Hussein.

The deficit is growing, economic growth is slowing: it's indisputable the economy is in a mess. The investments that were once going to pay for a college education are now good for maybe three years' tuition, not four. State governments are in a crisis more severe than any we've ever seen. Governors are cutting essential services, health care and child care and even the length of the school year, unable to go back yet again to the overtapped well of state taxes and surcharges. If the mantra of the first Clinton campaign was "It's the economy, stupid," the motto of the Bush White House should be "It's the states." Yet the administration made cutting corporate dividends its highest economic priority.

In the last analysis this is more dangerous for the image of the Republican Party than Trent Lott. The party has never shaken its identity as a club for rich guys. When Ronald Reagan's budget director David Stockman talked about "trickle-down economics," he felt compelled later to say that his choice of words had been "terribly unfortunate." They were unfortunate because they cemented a prevailing sense of Republican policy: let the wealthy hang on to their money and they will hire more maids. Or, as Leona Helmsley once said, "Only the little people pay taxes."

Geyser economics is more like it, straight up and surging. Large corporations make enormous contributions to political campaigns. Tax policy favors those corporations in a variety of ways. Ordinary consumers pay inflated prices for the products of those corporations. (Interesting, the difference in cost between prescription Claritin and the same over-the-counter drug.) The companies make a lot of money, a disproportionate share of which often goes into the pockets of top executives. Oh, and into those political contributions.

After the gulf war the first President Bush insisted there was no recession. By the numbers there wasn't. But voters smelled trouble.

Those freaked out by "Das Kapital" in prep school like to argue that rich people are unfairly taxed, that the highest-earning Americans are responsible for by far the biggest chunk of federal income-tax revenue, that the progressive tax amounts to—holy Karl Marx!—redistribution of income. This ignores three things. The first is that income tax tells only part of the story. Factor in payroll taxes, sales taxes, state taxes and the like, and the playing field is more or less level. The second is that the playing field is never level. Redistribution of income is taking place, but mainly because it is being distributed upward. Executive jobs often have built-in perks that make them even more remunerative than salaries or bonuses would suggest, and have the net effect of lessening much of the burden income taxes impose. The little people pay for their own seats at the ballpark.

The third is that where the economy is concerned, the facts and figures aren't all that matters. When people read that the former chairman of Tyco charged the company for an umbrella stand—a really ugly umbrella stand—that cost about half of what a beginning teacher makes in a year, the result is a serious problem of perception. Add some sticker shock at the supermarket and a kid saddled with crushing student loans, and you have a marked economic downturn, at least anecdotally. This can be as real and yet as evanescent as the scent of smoke. After the gulf war the first President Bush kept insisting there was no recession in America. By the conventional numbers there wasn't. But voters smelled trouble. The rest is history.

It's a tough time for the Republicans to convince Americans that they're not the silver-spoon party, since their president has a biographical drawerful of monogrammed tableware. A fervent appeal to cut the dividend tax, a classic trickle-down ploy, is not the way to go. Live dangerously: eliminate all income taxes on those earning below $50,000, which would cover most teachers and cops and lots of nurses, as well as many black Americans. That's not really a bold stroke, since for many of those workers federal income tax is the least of their problems, but it might build good will. Then cut payroll taxes for real relief, and pretend the states are foreign countries and give them substantial foreign aid so they can reinstate essential services. Much of this could be paid for simply by forgetting about those cuts in the dividend tax. Maybe then a little trickle-down populism could attach itself to the Republican Party.

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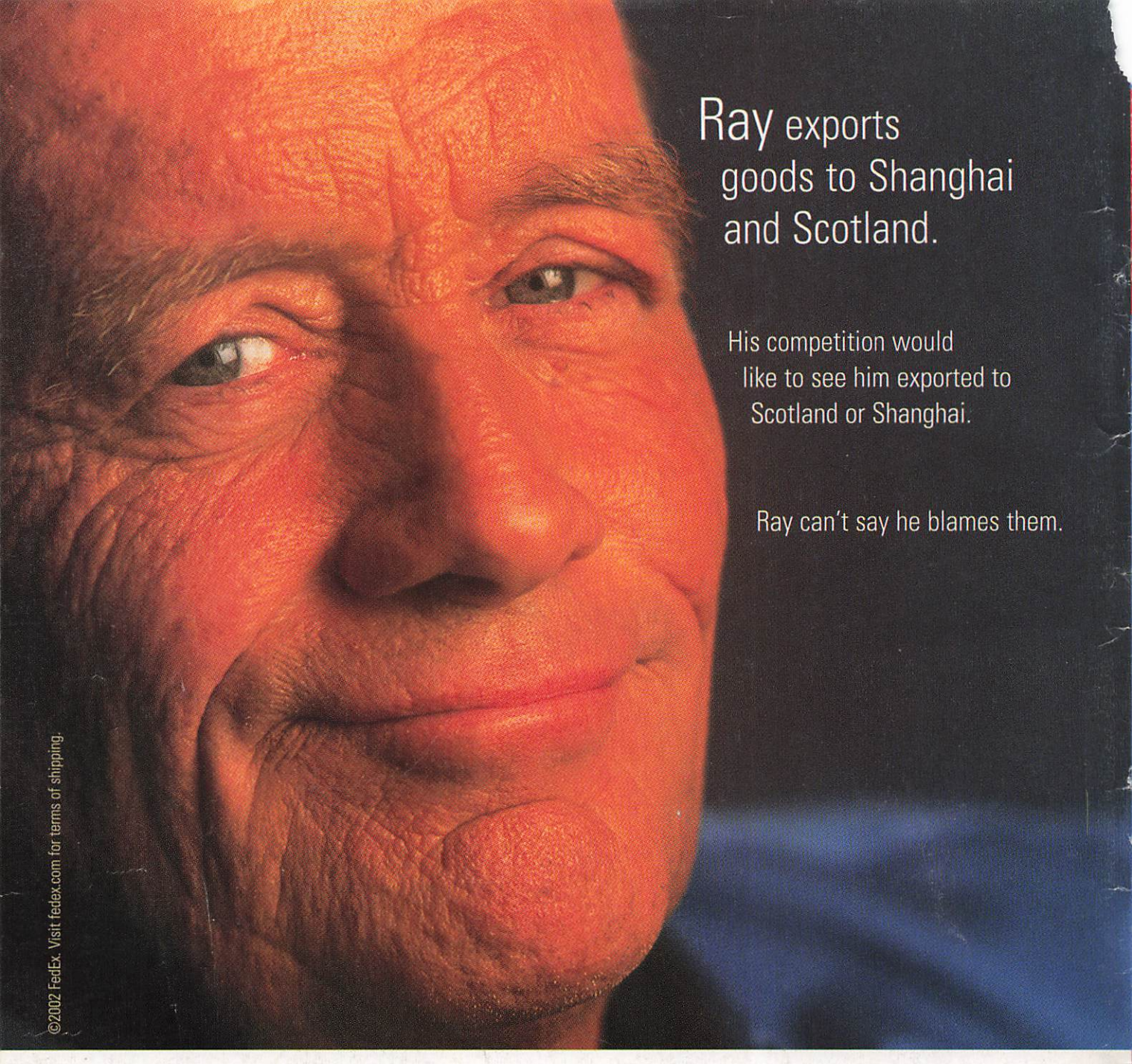
Ray exports goods to Shanghai and Scotland.
His competition would like to see him exported to Scotland or Shanghai.
Ray can't say he blames them.

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